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RIES



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Gedins



American Anti-Slavery Society -
Presented by
Rev. George Bourne -
Mar. 23 - 1839.

Sec. 3

v. 1

Genius

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THE
GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION,
A
MONTHLY PERIODICAL WORK,
CONTAINING
ORIGINAL ESSAYS, DOCUMENTS, AND FACTS,
RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT OF
AFRICAN SLAVERY.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration of Independence, U. S.*

——
BENJAMIN LUNDY, EDITOR.
——

VOLUME I. THIRD SERIES—COMMENCING APRIL, 1830.

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PUBLISHED IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

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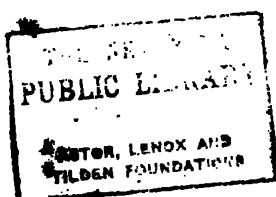
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, devoted to it, but also to advocating the question of African Eman-



ELISHA TYSON.
The Philanthropist.

ROY WOOD
JOHN
PAGE



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

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APRIL, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 253. VOL. XI.

THE EDITOR TO THE PUBLIC.

Again I find myself, alone, at the editorial desk; and again I resume a *monthly* correspondence with the readers of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation." I yet hope to have the assistance of an amiable and talented writer, whose services in the cause are invaluable, but the care and responsibility of the publication devolve entirely upon myself.

Nine years have nearly elapsed, since this work first made its appearance. During that period I have witnessed many vicissitudes in the affairs of life; have experienced something of the fickleness of fortune, and a goodly share of what the world calls hardship and privation. From the commencement until very lately, however, it gradually increased in size, and it is believed in interest. The many difficulties that presented themselves, have occasionally produced some irregularity in its publication; and this, together with the unpopularity of the subject upon which it treats, in a portion of the country, and the general apathy among those who are friendly to the undertaking, have prevented as extensive a circulation as had been anticipated. The strong desire that I have ever felt to contribute my mite towards the promotion of the good cause, has induced me not only to make great exertions to issue a *weekly* publication, devoted to it, but also to

render what assistance I could in every other way. But I find that the people are not yet prepared to go with me quite so far. To speak in phrase, a la militaire, I am too near to the entrenchments of the enemy—and, of course, like a prudent soldier, must retreat a little, until our troops can "screw up their courage" somewhat more. That they *will*, ere long go much farther, I feel well assured; and I shall still "fight on," and "keep the faith," hoping and believing that a glorious victory will ultimately crown our efforts.

That I shall yet have a severe struggle, for a time, even with the monthly publication, is to be expected:—and I submit it to the consideration of those who profess a willingness to aid in promoting the work of emancipation—those who approve the course I have pursued—whether it be reasonable, or just, that I should thus be subjected to inconveniences and hardships, almost intolerable, when they are equally as much interested in the matter as I am myself, and have it in their power, by giving a little further assistance, to relieve me from a portion of the burden, and enable me to labor much more efficiently for the attainment of our great and important object.

I do not wish to speak boastingly of what I have done; or essayed to do, in advocating the question of African Eman-

cipation: and I detest the idea of making a cringing appeal to the public, for aid in my undertakings. *I am willing to work*; and can support myself and family by my own labor. But after a *ten years struggle* to promote the cause to the best of my humble abilities, and in every possible manner, it may not be amiss to inform those who take an interest in this publication, that I have (within the period above mentioned) sacrificed several thousand dollars of my own hard earnings; have travelled upwards of five thousand miles on foot, and more than twenty thousand in other ways; have visited nineteen of the states of this Union, and held more than two hundred public meetings, with the view of making known our object, &c.—and in addition to this, have performed two voyages to the West Indies, by which means the liberation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and I hope the way paved for the enlargement of many more. What effect this work has had, in turning the attention of the public to the subject of the abolition of slavery, it would not become me to say, though I have carefully noted every thing relative thereto that came within the range of my observation. Of this, others, who have acquainted themselves with the matter, must judge.—But I am fully persuaded that something of the kind is greatly needed, and may be instrumental in doing much good. *There is not another periodical work, published by a citizen of the United States, whose conductor DARE treat upon the subject of slavery as its nature requires, and its importance demands.*—And, viewing the matter in this light, *I shall persevere in my efforts, as usual, while the means of doing it are afforded, or until more efficient advocates of the cause shall make themselves known. I shall now devote my undivided attention to this publication, and endeavor to make it as interesting as possible. I will*

neither be cajoled by the smiles nor awed by the frowns of any to a dereliction of principle, or an abandonment of the cause. My humble exertions shall be directed to the one great end—my whole self shall be devoted to the holy work—my march shall be steadily *onward*—and neither sectarian pride, party zeal, nor even persecution itself, from the “powers that be,” or that *may be*, shall turn me to the right hand or the left. If I obtain a reasonable patronage for the work, *it shall go on*, upon the principle that it ever has done, when under my immediate direction, notwithstanding all the opposition that tyranny and malice can array against it.

B. LUNDY.

JAMES JONES,—LATE OF TENNESSEE.

“A great man has fallen!”—one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of American philanthropists has set, to rise no more! JAMES JONES, President of the *Manumission Society of Tennessee*,—the steady, ardent, and persevering friend of Universal Emancipation, is numbered with the dead.

In the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, of March 5th, this melancholy event was announced; but I was then from home, and had not an opportunity to advert to the subject myself.

To those who were acquainted with the deceased, nothing need be said relative to his merits. No language could impress on the mind an adequate idea of his many virtues. Suffice it to say, that *few men living* can fill the station that he held, with equal honour and usefulness. Long shall the poor, oppressed African, mourn his irreparable loss.

It is due to the cause of humanity, that a complete biography of this excellent man should be laid before the public; and this shall be done, as soon as it can be prepared. In the mean time it may not be amiss to say, that for many years he was one of the most efficient la-

borers in the great work of African emancipation. His education was very limited, but he possessed a strong mind; and his whole soul seemed, as it were, wrapped up in the cause.

For several years I have enjoyed a personal acquaintance and extensive correspondence with him. The following extract from his last letter to me, written a short time previous to his death, shews that he still continued the unfaltering advocate of the holy cause in which he has long been engaged. Who, alas! will supply the vacancy occasioned by his demise? There are a few strong and valiant philanthropists yet remaining there; but on whom will the broad mantle of his spirit descend? Who shall succeed him, and complete the glorious work that he so diligently and unceasingly laboured to promote?

"This may inform thee that I have been in a bad state of health for two months past. I received thy letter a few weeks since; and it gratified me to find thee still firm in advocating the great cause of justice.

"I am fearful that a portion of the professors of religion will yet blast our efforts in Tennessee; or, at least, retard the holy work for awhile. They will do nothing for the cause themselves; and those who are willing to aid it, they even hinder."

Speaking of memorializing Congress upon the subject of abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, he says:

"I am in hopes that the people will yet compel Congress to notice their prayers for justice. Some time since I received the printed memorial, to obtain signers. I was highly gratified to find such a request going from the people to that body. I was then confined at home by ill health, and it came too late for the last session. I have been desirous that the people should take the matter in hand, for several years. But I am equally, or even more anxious, that Congress shall put a stop to the *internal Slave trade*. We have, for several years past, in our memorials from the Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, asked of the national legislature, the passage of laws for that purpose.

"Enclosed is a true copy of the memorial of our last Convention. I wish thee to give it a place in thy paper, as soon as may be practicable; for if the Congress will not listen to the voice of humanity, until destruction cometh, I wish posterity to know that some among us are now desirous to have justice done."

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

Several of the newspapers in Kentucky, continue to advocate the abolition of slavery, in that state, with a freedom and boldness calculated to inspire the hope that the day of political and moral redemption is drawing near. In addition to this evidence, so conclusive, that the good cause is there fast gaining ground, it will be recollected that the Legislature recently had under consideration a resolution to amend the Constitution of the State, when the advocates of that measure avowed that their ultimate object was the eradication of slavery from their soil. A letter from a gentleman of high standing, in Lexington, to the Hon. Charles Miner, of Pennsylvania, states that this was the principal inducement with many to support the proposition: and it will be remembered that the resolution was negatived by a majority of *one vote only*. We may safely assert, that if the friends of the measure persevere in their laudable efforts, a glorious triumph awaits them at no distant period.

Among those who are the most active in urging the abolition of Slavery in Kentucky, is the editor of the "*Western Luminary*." This is a weekly religious and miscellaneous periodical, ably conducted by *Thomas T. Skillman*, a gentleman (I believe) in the Presbyterian connexion. It is a valuable publication, and deserves the support of every friend to the Anti-Slavery cause. The "*Kentucky Reporter*," also, one of the best conducted political papers in the State, frequently contains severe animadversions upon the system of Slavery and the *internal Slave trade*.

Let Slavery be annihilated in Kentucky, and the example will soon be followed by several of the other States.— Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri will soon follow suit, and a large portion of our country thus be rescued from disgrace and ruin.

FREE OR SLAVE LABOUR—NON-INTERCOURSE.

A correspondent, in the present number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, over the signature of "*Civis*," boldly proposes the establishment of a *system of non-intercourse with the advocates of slavery*. Societies have been in existence, for some length of time, in the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, whose object has been to encourage the use of the production of free labour, in preference to that of slaves, when convenient. They have in view the making of experiments in the south country, to shew the superior advantages of the former, compared with those of the latter. This writer goes further. He would act up to the principle that the Americans did, (so far as *pacific* measures can extend,) when their rights were denied them by the British Crown. He would adopt the same means to bring the violators of justice to their senses, that the American government used, when Britain and France, at a subsequent period, gave licence to their marine freebooters, and regular naval forces, to cut up our commerce and murder our citizens.—He would break off all connexion with them, individually, until they might evince a willingness to abolish the abominable system of hereditary bondage, and the accursed traffic in human blood and souls.

Whether the sentiments of this writer will soon be publicly responded, by any considerable portion of our citizens, or not, remains to be ascertained.—That they now are, privately, I well know. The subject is one that merits discussion:—and the columns of this work are

open for brief and well written communications, on *both sides of the question*.

It will be seen, on a perusal of our Ladies' Department, that large numbers of the female sex, in the United States, are turning their attention to this subject. In England, they are doing more than all their brethren (in the same way) towards preparing the public mind, for the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies.

THE CANADA COLONY.

Never, since the spirit of colonizing the people of color first manifested itself in the United States, has a project been revealed, apparently so full of promise, as that of their settlement in Upper Canada. In the space of a few months, nearly as many have removed thither, and settled themselves, (without assistance in most cases,) as have been taken to Africa, at the expense of others, *in twice as many years*. In addition to this, extensive preparations are making, in many parts of the middle and northern States, for the emigration of vast numbers more.—In Baltimore, meetings have been held, and many are expected to go. I have myself seen the country, near the place of their location, and think it very suitable for those accustomed to our climate. If they will be permitted to enjoy their natural rights and inalienable privileges there, I would advise every one to go that have a legal right to do so, north of the 34th degree of latitude. It is believed that the climate is nearly or quite as mild in that region as at the city of New York; and the land, in general, is very fertile.

But it is feared that the same demonic and unrelenting spirit of persecution is at work against the colored race, in that Province, that is now driving them from these States. Resolutions have passed their House of Assembly, expressive of the strong aversion of that body to the settlement of the people of color there,

as contemplated. A Committee has been charged to bring in a bill, the provisions of which shall be calculated to check the emigration of such persons thither; and the governor has been requested to apply to the British Parliament for the future prohibition thereof.

It seems that the arrangement was made by the Ohio colored people, with an association entitled the "*Canada Company*;" and whether the act will be ratified by the British government, is yet uncertain. I am not without hope that it will be, in due season.

LOUISIANA.—"THE LIBERALIST."

I have received the first number of a *Daily Paper*, recently established in *New Orleans*, by Milo Mower, entitled "THE LIBERALIST." Surprising as it may seem to us of the more northern states, this work is *avowedly an advocate of the rights and interests of the people of color!* A disposition has manifested itself in the Legislature of Louisiana, to follow the example of Ohio, in expelling the free colored people from the State. The "Liberalist" boldly contests the justice and policy of the measure; and forcibly appeals to the wisdom and humanity of the Legislature, depicting at the same time, in glowing colors, the difficulty and danger, as well as the cruelty and misery, that would necessarily attend its execution.

SPAIN AND HAYTI.

The demand recently made by Spain, upon the Haytien government, for that portion of the island formerly held by her, attracts the attention of many political speculators in this country. It is not believed that Ferdinand can possibly force a compliance with the requisition; and it is certain that the Haytiens will not yield their assent to it unless compelled. By the last accounts, it appears that the government was making every necessary preparation for defence.

It is fortunate for Hayti, that her dispute with France terminated before this demand was made by Spain. From the latest information, we learn that the annual payment of the indemnity to the old French colonists, has been fixed at 3,600,000 francs, (\$720,000) part to be paid in various productions of the island. Spain probably entertains the hope that Hayti may be induced to make a similar arrangement with her: but, if so, she will be disappointed. The Spanish colonists were not *compelled* to leave the island, as the French were. They were few in number; and it was their *wish* to be taken under the protection of the Haytien government. That government did not infringe the law of nations, by extending its authority over that part of the island, without indemnifying the former proprietors, as they *were not required* to abandon their lands, &c. Such as left the island, did so voluntarily; and, of course, have no claim for restitution, whatever.

Other motives may probably actuate the imbecile monarch of Spain to make this demand. Hayti has proven to be an *excellent cemetery for European malcontents!* Some of Ferdinand's "liege subjects" may, perhaps, be a little refractory, after so long a season of peace; and it may be desirable, to get them *out of the way*. This is "a game that kings play at" but too often. The funds raised to fit out the late expedition to Mexico, were said to be principally furnished by the exiled colonists, in the hope of regaining their lost possessions in that country. That attempt having proven abortive, the Spanish monarch may, also, be desirous to silence their murmurs, and forage his myrmidons, by some mode of plunder, while they remain on the West-India station. A blockade of the Haytien ports might enable them to subsist, for a time, by preying upon merchant vessels, and occasionally laying a defenceless village under contribution.

But whatever may be the inducement to

make an attack upon the Haytien Republic, Spain will find, in the end, that she will gain comparatively nothing, but add another young and vigorous nation to her list of enemies, in the new world. And, in all probability, it will hasten the period when the tide of aggression shall roll back upon, and seriously disturb, her quiet possessions in the Caribean sea. *Cuba will no doubt soon be revolutionized.* Already, we are told, that a treasonable correspondence with Mexico has been detected in that island: and a combination among the Spanish American republics may be calculated on, that shall, ere long, wrest from the haughty Dons every inch of soil in the American hemisphere. In fact, this may be expected, in the *natural course of events*. The struggle will probably be short, but bloody.

FRANCES WRIGHT.

The last advices from Hayti, state that this lady had arrived, *with her Slaves*, at Port-au-Prince; and had also taken with her a cargo of provisions, to be disposed of for their benefit. Thus, between twenty and thirty more human beings have been rescued from degradation and Slavery; and I rejoice that it is done, as sincerely as though it had been accomplished by myself, or any other professor of Christianity. However we may disapprove her sentiments on religious subjects, it would be unchristian and *unmanly*, to withhold the meed of merit for her philanthropic exertions, relative to the poor and oppressed Africans. I trust that even the gallant Col. Stone, of the New-York "*Commercial Advertiser*," will respond "*amen*," to this.

PASSAGE TO LIBERIA.

A vessel is expected to sail from Norfolk, to the American colony in Africa, about the 10th of this month. Applications, for passage, should be made to the

Rev. R. R. Gurley, Washington; J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Baltimore; or John McPhail, Norfolk.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Those who take an interest in the cause of emancipation, and are accustomed to the use of the pen, are solicited to forward their productions, as they may have leisure to do it. But they will now see the necessity of studying *brevity*. Long articles must necessarily be excluded. Several communications are on hand, that are quite too prolix for the contracted limits of this work. With some abridgement, they may be inserted hereafter.

I regret to be under the necessity of stating, that the paper, for this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, is not such as I intended to have. The sheet is (for a part of the impression) too small, and the quality inferior, to what I propose to use. None of the kind that I wish, can, at present, be procured in this city. Before the next number appears, I hope to obtain a supply of paper more suitable than that which I am now necessitated to make use of.

Biographical Sketches.

ELISHA TYSON.

It is my intention to insert, from time to time, in this work, a series of biographical sketches of men who have distinguished themselves as advocates of African Emancipation, but are "gone from works to rewards." These Sketches must necessarily be brief, as the limits allowed them will, of course, be very contracted.

I had designed to begin with the earliest laborers in the cause; but as I wish to accompany the different articles with *likenesses* of the persons of whose actions they may treat, when practicable, and as I cannot immediately procure such as it would be desirable first to in-

introduce, I have commenced with *Elisha Tyson*, the

ANTI-SLAVERY PATRIARCH OF MARYLAND.

The Life of this distinguished philanthropist was lately published, in a neat volume of 142 pages, by a citizen of this place. A few copies may yet be had, by inquiring at this office. To that, the reader is referred, for a more particular statement respecting his character and conduct, as an advocate of justice and humanity. The book is replete with valuable information, both instructing and edifying to the friends of our cause. The engraving, accompanying this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, was prepared for that volume; and to the politeness of the author I am indebted for the use of it upon the present occasion.

Elisha Tyson was born in Pennsylvania, near the city of Philadelphia. His ancestors were of German descent, and, for several generations back, members of the Society of "Friends." He was, himself, a member of the same Society, until the time of his death.

At an early age, he removed from Pennsylvania, and settled in Harford County, Maryland. Soon after this, however, he changed his residence to the city of Baltimore, which was then in its infancy. Here his philanthropy soon displayed itself in behalf of the oppressed Africans. A vigorous intellect, in addition to a liberal education, and a robust frame and strong constitution, enabled him to render very important services to the cause of humanity, in advocating the rights of those mal-treated, abused, and miserable beings. The horrible traffic in human flesh and blood, which disgraces the present age and is hastening the destruction of this nation, was even then carried on through this city to a great extent. Cases of outrage, cruelty, and illegal transportation, frequently occurred. By his fearless and intrepid conduct, in

a multitude of instances, Elisha Tyson was the happy instrument of relieving many of the unfortunate, unprotected descendants of Africans from a cruel bondage, to which the wickedness of the soul-hardened monsters had doomed them.

Much might be said in praise of this great champion of the cause of universal emancipation. Many things might be related that would be exceedingly interesting, and I would willingly extend these remarks further: but as his biography has so recently been published, and is easily attainable, the foregoing must suffice. He closed his exceedingly useful life on the 16th of February, 1824, aged seventy-five years. His remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of the most respectable citizens of Baltimore, besides several thousand persons of color, who deeply lamented the loss of one of their best earthly friends.

Correspondence.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Slavery being acknowledged in every section of the Union as an evil, and the foreign slave trade denounced as piracy by the National Legislature, it is believed to be incumbent upon the good citizens of our republic to make every constitutional effort to eradicate it from our soil. The friends of universal emancipation had, from the foundation of our government, been unceasing in their entreaties with the slave-holding states, to abolish a system of oppression and outrage, palpably at variance with the spirit of our original compact. Proposition after proposition have been made, emanating from the most patriotic and philanthropic intentions. Scheme after scheme have been proposed, originating in wisdom, and practicable and pacific in their operations. Numerous appeals have been sent forth, addressed to the feelings and understanding of the oppressors of their fellow-men. Still the voice of truth and justice is unheard—and a fixed determination proclaimed, to pursue the unhallowed course, regardless of the laws of God and man.

There yet remains another mode of appeal, viz: to the pecuniary interests of the slave-holder. It is the right, it is the duty of every christian philanthropist, to abstain from the use of such produce, as is wrung from the unrewarded toil of mankind. That the slave is degraded to the level of a mere beast of burden, the statutes of the south have amply shown, being by them denominated "goods and chattles."

Under these considerations, we deem it a duty to call your attention to the subject, with the hope that you will candidly and coolly inquire whether you can consistently with your conscience, strengthen the hands of those who are enslaving your own species, by purchasing their commodities.

Although the foreign Slave Trade is, *by law*, abolished—yet the Domestic Traffic is as heinous and destructive of human happiness. The dearest ties of social relationship are as heartlessly torn asunder, within the jurisdiction of our boasted "free country," as under Brazilian or Spanish despotism. Whatever you may have known of the appalling scenes witnessed on the coast of Africa, may be pointed out in our own favoured country. As little regard is paid *here* to the wailings of bereft parents, and the cries of innocent children dragged away to interminable bondage, as *there*. We beseech you to ponder these things—bring them home to your own happy firesides—ask yourselves as parents, brothers, sisters, what would be your emotions, were the perpetrators of rapine and murder to break in upon your homes, brutally bear you off to some distant land, put you up at the public market to be sold to the highest bidder, and wantonly separate husband from wife, brother from brother, and sister from sister, and forever deny you the inalienable *rights of man*, by the imposition of regulations suited only to the beasts that perish?

We believe, from evidence which to us is conclusive, that the real interests of the slave-holder would to him be more secure, were he to change his slaves into hired freemen. That the expenses of free-labour are less, compared with its profits, than those of slave-labour. That the happiness and safety of our beloved country can be alone perpetuated by the entire abolition of slavery. These propositions, however, we leave for the present, with the view of drawing your at-

tention to the main object, viz: *The use of the produce of the labor of freemen, in preference to that of slaves.*

Although you may enquire, individually: "Of what benefit can my abstinence be to the great body of slaves?" Yet when you reflect that the whole universe is composed of atoms, and that the union of these, constitute the great and wonderful visible works of God—that by the combination of *units* any given *sum* is to be obtained—and that the independence of these United States was procured by the alliance of the several states and provinces, in resisting the tyranny of Great Britain—you must be satisfied that if each member of community, unfavorable to slavery, would exercise his *will*, and refuse to partake of the gains of oppression, the existence of a slave among us would shortly be looked upon with general abhorrence.—In truth, we should fearlessly claim for ourselves the glorious character of "a nation of freemen."

Again, you may enquire: "How shall we do without the articles alluded to?" This is not now absolutely necessary. The feeble efforts of a few individuals have brought into the markets of New York and Philadelphia, a large quantity of cotton, and groceries. The manufacturers are beginning to consider it an object to prepare the former for its various uses, and its cultivation by freemen is rapidly increasing.

Cotton fabrics being more necessary for the convenience of the female part of the community, we look to our republican matrons and daughters for the most efficient co-operation. It is measurably with them to decide this all important subject. It is with them to say whether or not the heart of woman is less sympathizing, in this nation, than among their transatlantic sisters; whose efforts, in England, are accomplishing much towards destroying West-Indian slavery. In the city of Philadelphia is witnessed the powerful influence of a "Female Association" to whom we are largely indebted for the advancement of our cause. We fervently hope that the annunciation of this fact will induce thousands to unite in breaking in pieces the shackles of the slave, and redeeming our common country from an evil which must eventually, if not removed, bring upon us anarchy, revolution, and a train of horrors, consistent with the just judgements of an offended God.

CIVIS.

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

After having been for several months engaged in advocating the cause of Emancipation, we find no reason to abandon our efforts, however limited may have been their usefulness. We know that millions of our fellow creatures—hundreds of thousands of our own sex—are suffering under the most ruthless bondage; and though our hearts may be wrung and our feelings harrowed by the contemplation of their misery, we cannot withhold our sympathy, or close our eyes on their varied wretchedness, because our power may be insufficient for its alleviation. We feel that the present is no time to be silent. A compassionate interest in the suffering and degradation of our negro population is manifestly obtaining a wider place in the hearts of American women. If we may in any degree be the means of deepening and extending this interest, by placing the subject in its different lights before the eyes of those who may perhaps have suffered themselves to think upon it as scarcely a real evil, we shall feel that our labor has not been spent in vain.

FREE COTTON SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

We are highly gratified to hear of the increasing prosperity of this Association. Little more than a year has elapsed since its establishment, and it has gone quietly on through discouragement and difficulty, with unabated efforts and a steady progression, till now we believe its friends have no reason to fear for its success, and its perseverance is rewarded by a widening extension of its influence and usefulness.

The articles which it has had manufactured have met with a ready sale, and the demand for them has increased beyond the ability which the association has possessed for meeting it with supplies. This difficulty will we hope be at least partially obviated by a fresh supply of material. A number of calicoes of different patterns are expected to be ready for the market during the early part of this month.

We have frequently said that we considered the extension of free labour one of the most effectual means of combatting slavery; and we believe that opinion is fast gaining ground. This is proved by the anxiety manifested in distant

and different sections of the country, for productions of this class. It is proved by the success of the interesting society of which we have been speaking; it has found friends and kindness, where neither were expected; and offers of service and assistance, from sources the most unlooked for. May its success be as a rallying word to the female sex.

HISTORY OF THE NEW-YORK AFRICAN FREE SCHOOLS.

We have not often had the good fortune to peruse a work with greater pleasure, than we have received from the one above mentioned. It touches in its details the best feelings of the heart, and affords a gratification of the highest nature, in the exemplification of the successful efforts of philanthropy. The author, Charles C. Andrews, has been long a teacher in the institution; and besides a succinct narrative of its rise and progress, has given a very interesting account of the manner in which the school is conducted, of the exercises of the pupils, and their proficiency in different branches of study. The examples he has given of their talents and acquirements, ought to be sufficient forever to silence the prejudicial misrepresentations of those who would portray the character of the negro as naturally of an inferior order in the scale of creation.

The first African free school of New-York was established by the Manumission Society of that State, in 1787; and notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements its supporters have had to encounter, it has been maintained with increasing usefulness to the present day.

In 1790 the aid of a female teacher was obtained for instructing the girls in needlework, and in 1809, the year after its incorporation, the Lancasterian system was introduced into the school, with very beneficial effects. The number of pupils rapidly increased, and their orderly behaviour was such as to render them the objects of creditable remark. In 1815 the female department, which had been for some time discontinued, was again resumed, and, under the direction of several instructors, continued to sustain a high character for order and usefulness, while its productions at the public exhibitions have been "uniformly noticed with approbation."

We are glad to find that, in both departments, considerable attention has been paid to the formation of the manners, as well as the minds of the pupils; for we believe that an attention to this point would, in many instances, be instrumental in removing the prejudices that are so

generally entertained against their color. The success that has attended their moral and intellectual education, may be inferred from the fact, that not one instance is known of a pupil who had gone through a regular course of instruction in this institution, having been "convicted of crime in any of the courts of justice;" and but three of those who have partially enjoyed its advantages.

Among those of the pupils who are distinguished for their superior acquirements, the name of George R. Allen stands deservedly pre-eminent. His address to the American Convention; the unaided, and, except the erasure of a few superfluous words, the unaltered productions of a boy of twelve years, is really excellent, and would not disgrace a white scholar of twice his age. His answers to doctor Mitchell, and his school exercises in Astronomy &c. display habits of reflection, and a fund of information, remarkable for one so young, and highly creditable to his talents.

We have only time to mention, in conclusion, the very praise-worthy "African Dorcas Association;" formed several years since by some benevolent colored females, for the benefit of such scholars as were destitute of comfortable clothing. Seventy-four children, it is stated, were clothed by this Society during the year 1829. We sincerely hope its charitable and noble-minded members may be rewarded for their kindness, in the well-doing of the objects of their bounty.

The following paragraph is extracted from an Epistle, prepared by a Female Meeting of the Society of Friends, in an adjoining State, and directed to a similar Meeting in Baltimore. The solicitude therein expressed is very commendable, and must have originated in the purest sympathetic feelings, prompted by a sense of religious duty. Let the pious and the philanthropic of our sex use their exertions, upon every occasion, to plead the cause of the oppressed, and great will be their reward, at least in the consciousness of doing good.

"The minds of many among us have been weightily impressed, and an increasing concern felt, on account of the condition of the Africans—heirs alike with us of immortality, and who are at this time, groaning under one of the most oppressive systems of slavery known in Christendom; whose silent prayers and secret tears are poured out before Him who has made of one blood all the families of the earth, and who cannot regard one part of his rational creation more than another. Many among us have been renewedly engaged to enquire, how far we are clear in this matter. Here let us adopt the language of David: "Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth."

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REPORT OF THE LADIES' "FREE COTTON" SOCIETY.

At a stated meeting of the Association, held 3rd mo. 17th, 1830, the following report was read:

"The joint committees met on the evening of the 15th inst. Two of their number have contracted with Samuel Comly, who is willing to undertake the printing of 40 pieces of muslin, into two or three different patterns of calico, as soon as the fabric is ready.

We are at times animated with the belief, that the concern is progressing, which the subsequent circumstances confirm. A merchant in this city has recently received an order from his correspondent in the western country, for two bales of muslin manufactured from free cotton;—and from another source we are informed that Nathan Hunt, jr. of N. C. has 40 bales, or more, of the same kind, which he intends for the Philadelphia market, and which is probably now on its way hither. As this lot of cotton will amount to a considerable sum of money, (perhaps near 2000 dollars,) the finances of the Association will be by no means adequate to its purchase; we therefore deem it expedient to engage a person of veracity to purchase it on his own responsibility, keep it separate from other cotton, and have it manufactured into such goods as are best suited to the market. One of this character has presented himself, who, upon consultation, is willing to undertake the business, under the above arrangement.

As the cause of Emancipation depends upon the exertions of individuals, we would encourage each of our members, wherever her lot may be cast, there to use her influence to promote the purchase of such articles as are ascertained to be free from the labor of slaves. A steady perseverance is all that is wanting to the accomplishment of the desired object; and though discouragements may abound, and opposition assail, we believe this foundation will be sufficiently secure to withstand every argument which may be advanced in favor of that traffic, which may be materially injured, and finally undermined, by the mode of opposition which we have adopted, viz. the manufacture and use of free produce."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SLAVE'S APPEAL.

Christian mother when thy prayer !
Trembles on the twilight air,
And thou askest God to keep,
In their waking and their sleep,
Those whose love is more to thee
Than the wealth of land or sea,
Think of those who wildly mourn
For the lov'd ones from them torn !

Christian daughter sister, wife !
Ye who wear a guarded life—
Ye whose bliss hangs not, like mine,
On a tyrant's word or sign,
Will ye hear, with careless eye,
Of the wild despairing cry,
Rising up from human hearts,
As their latest bliss departs?

Blest ones! whom no hands on earth,
Dares to wrench from home and hearth,
Ye whose hearts are shelter'd well,
By affection's holy spell,
Oh forget not those for whom,
Life is nought but changeless gloom,
O'er whose days of cheerless sorrow,
Hope may paint no brighter morrow !

AGNES.

LITERARY

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT.

It was a pretty looking cottage—with its roof half covered with the boughs of a great tree, and vines creeping up about the doors and windows. The garden, with its gay flowers, tempting berries, and fine vegetables, was almost without a weed; while the pailing that surrounded both that and the grass-plot, in front of the house, fairly glistened with its fresh covering of white-wash.

The old woman was seated in a large arm-chair, just outside of the door. Her countenance was one of the finest I have ever seen. She had probably passed seventy summers, but her brow yet remained as dark as the still brilliant eye over which it was arched. The lines of age were distinctly, but not deeply traced upon her cheek and forehead; and her mouth and chin, though wearing them much more visibly than her other features, retained their characteristic mark of firmness and dignity. Her whole face was beaming with mingled benevolence, gratitude and devotion. By her side was sitting a little dark-faced urchin of some half dozen years—and grouped round them, either seated on the grass, or on a long bench beneath the tree, several other descendants of Africa, whose happy

faces, glowing with intelligence and feeling, spoke nothing of that consciousness of abasement and degradation, which is so often written upon the countenances of their race.

Shall I tell you the history of that group? It is a tale of female generosity, and negro gratitude.

That woman—she in the elbow-chair, with the open bible upon her knee—was a native, and till within these few years, a resident, of Kentucky. Her husband was an owner of slaves—her father had been—and in her youth she thought but little of the sinfulness of laying unrighteous hands upon the property of God. But when the gentle creatures that called her "mothe" gathered about her with their loving eyes, and she listened to their soft voices in the evening twilight, she felt how wretched would be her lot, if it were in the power of man's hand to tear them from her arms forever and she thought of them, and commiserated the condition of the miserable slave. At first, it was compassion only that led her to sympathise with their unhappy fate; but the conviction soon came to her heart, that slavery was unjustifiable wickedness in the sight of the Almighty. She entreated her husband, almost with the earnestness of one beseeching for her own life, to liberate their slaves. He refused—and she wept secretly and in silence—but by every mean in her power she strove with tireless perseverance to alleviate the bitterness of their lot. She was their instructor, their friend, their benefactress, moving about among them more like a paren than a mistress, preserving their respect by the quiet dignity of her manner, and winning their enthusiastic gratitude and love, by her kindness and affection.

When her husband died, they were distributed among their children, who had all married and left the paternal roof. Again she renewed her solicitations for the freedom of those objects of her care—and again she was repulsed—ay, even by her own children was her prayer refused to be granted. She did not stoop to remonstrance, but her resolution was taken—and great as was the sacrifice, she accomplished the holy purpose of her heart. She purchased those slaves, from the oldest to the youngest—she accompanied them here, to Ohio, where she might bestow on them the blessing of liberty—she expended almost her last

cent in the performance of her high deed of justice; and they flung themselves at her feet in an overwhelming burst of gratitude—disenthralled—enfranchised!

And they have never forgotten her kindness. She owes all the comforts, by which she is surrounded, to their unwearying industry: to labor for her, to serve her, and to obey her lightest word, is alike their pride and their happiness—and on this evening, they are all met together at her cottage, to celebrate the anniversary of their emancipation.

Is it a true story?

Why—recollect 'tis summer twilight, and there is the moon, just rising over the tree-tops; so a little embellishment may be pardonable. But the circumstance of that widow having thus purchased and manumitted those slaves, and the story of their gratefully laboring for her support—is really the truth.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"Who is my Neighbour?"—Luke, X, 29th.

Who is thy neighbour!—see him stand
With sunken cheek and eye,
Where hunger shows the empty hand
Thy bounty can supply!

Go where the widow'd mother pines
For what thou well canst spare—
Where palsied age in want reclines,
And see thy neighbour there!

Behold him in the stranger, cast
Upon a foreign shore,
Who, homeless, in the cutting blast,
Is shiv'ring at thy door!

Go seek him 'mid the dungeon's gloom,
And carry comfort there;
And on the living in that tomb
Call blessings down by prayer.

He's in thine enemy, who gave
Thee wounds that open still!
For him of Heaven forgiveness crave,
And pay him good for ill.

Look, where the son of Afric sighs
For rights enjoy'd by thee!
He is thy neighbour—loose his ties,
And set the bondman free.

Columbia, favour'd of the skies!
How can thy banner wave,
While at thy feet thy neighbour lies
A crush'd and fetter'd slave?

There is a blot among thy stars—
A chord is in thy hand—
A stain upon thy face, that mars
The beauty of our land!

Thou noble Tree of Liberty!
Should not thy verdure fade

O'er him who would his neighbour see
Excluded from thy shade?

Did they who rear'd thee by their toil
Not will thy fruit to be
Alike, for all who tread our soil,
A harvest sweet and free?

Philanthropy, from every breast
Thy streams should ceaseless flow,—
Our neighbour's in the weak, th' oppress—
And every child of wo!

H. F. G.

Newburyport, March, 1830.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

STAR-LIGHT.

"They are all up—the innumerable stars!"

There is something inexpressibly solemn in the silence of a starry moonlight. The splendor of the moon is beautiful, but it has less of high magnificence, less of the upliftedness of thought, with which we gaze on those immeasurably distant constellations. The moonless sky has nothing of that surpassing loveliness that presses with a tangible weight of pleasure upon the heart; but there is more of un-earthliness in the high imagination that gather around the spirit, when the dark blue concave is bended over the raised brow, and written all over with a visible sermon of light, teaching the heart a holy lesson with its unapproachable purity.

The wearying coil of the day has given way to a deep repose, and the very slave hath sunk into a short lived slumber. Alas, alas, bright watchers! that ye should look down in your pure light upon a world of so much sinfulness. That ye should behold man fettered by his brother, and the heart of woman crushed by those who should seek to shelter it from the blasts of all sorrow. Wo for man's cruelty! that hath made so many anguished hearts to keep ward with you, and send up the beseeching cry of wretchedness, instead of the deep hymn of adoration, beneath your beams!

ELA.

Department Français.

LOUISIANE—"LE LIBERAL."

J'ai reçu le premier nombre d'un papier journalier, établi récemment à la Nouvelle Orleans, par Milo Mower, intitulé "LE LIBERAL." C'est suprenant pour nous dans états du nord de voir un ouvrage dévoué aux intérêts et aux droits du peuple de couleur, publié dans cette place. Une

disposition s'est manifestée dans la puissance législative de Louisiana, pour suivre l'exemple D'Ohio, en expulsant les personnes de couleur qui sont libres. Le Liberal conteste librement la justice et la politique de cette mesure; et appelle fortement à la sagacité et l'humanité de la puissance législative, représentant en même temps, en couleurs ardentes, la difficulté et le danger aussi bien que la cruauté et la misère qu'ils attendent de l'exécution de cette mesure.

Cet ouvrage est imprimé très bien et composé avec habileté, est publié en anglais et en français—et fait une bonne apparence. Je serai bien aise pour assister la circulation de ce papier—d'obtenir les souscriptions des citoyens.

Le premier nombre parut le 24 février, j'ai copié l'adresse de l'éditeur et je regrette que je n'ai pas, de place pour insérer d'autres extraits.

Du Liberal.

Dans notre prospectus nous avons déclaré que notre journal serait consacré à la cause de la justice, non, comme quelques uns la conçoivent; mais à la justice dégagée de toutes les considérations de la naissance, de la fortune et de la couleur, qu'il était principalement établi pour défendre les droits de cette portion opprimée de la société, les gens de couleur libres de cet Etat—Nous le répétons et dès aujourd'hui nous commençons ce que nous avons promis.

En entreprenant une telle tâche, nous en connaissons tout le danger; l'opinion publique contre nous; exposé, aux injures, aux menaces de quiconque se glorifie d'être blanc—au danger même d'être arrêté dans notre projet par l'autorité publique, nous nous trouvons obligés pour ainsi dire, de forcer les barrières qui sont entre nous et le terme de nos travaux.—La phalange de l'opposition est rangée contre nous; la rompre est certainement difficile; mais non impossible, nous l'espérons. La justice de notre cause nous donnera des forces proportionnées à notre entreprise; et si nous succombons, nous trouverons notre consolation en pensant que nous n'avons échoué que pour nous être établi le défenseur de l'opprimé.

Nous avons entendu le cri de ceux qui nous sont opposés; si nous en croyons un grand nombre d'entre eux, l'étendard de la révolte est déjà levé et déjà les affreuses scènes de St. Domingue vont se renouveler; "Quoi"...semblent-ils dire—"Quoi...ils nous disent que nous n'avons pas le droit d'opprimer cette partie de notre population! Qui l'a osé? Que pour lui les portes de la prison s'ouvrent, qu'il soit enchaîné, qu'il soit chargé de fers? la mort est un supplice trop doux pour un tel scélérat."

Mais que nos ennemis ne se trompent point sur nos vues et qu'ils veuillent nous entendre.

Nous sommes maintenant devant le public, et nous sommes prêts à prendre le mousquet pour nous opposer à tout complot, à toute révolte quelleconque. Quelques uns ont dit que nous favorisons l'émancipation générale des esclaves. Notre voix et notre plume sont prêts à s'élever contre quiconque tendrait un ce moment, à un affranchissement général. Nous combattons ceux qui soutiennent la justice de cette mesure maintenant en discussion dans notre législature, qui a pour objet de chasser de l'Etat toutes les personnes de couleur libres qui s'y sont introduites depuis 1807. C'est ici que nous varions avec ceux qui nous sont opposés; et c'est là l'opinion des nôtres qui choque le plus leurs vieilles idées et leurs préjugés si profondément enracinés.—Mais si ces personnes ne sont point sourdes à la voix de la justice, si chez elles la raison peut encore se faire entendre, qu'elles nous écoutent attentivement, sans passion; qu'ils donnent à nos arguments toute leur force, et nous espérons que s'ils ont été une fois nos ennemis, ils seront désormais nos amis car certainement jamais cause ne fut plus juste, plus d'accord avec la raison que la nôtre.

D'abord, nous demanderons pourquoi les partisans du bill demandent l'expulsion des gens de couleur libres de cet état? Qu'ont ils fait? pourquoi expulser cette population du pays et la forcer à abandonner ses propriétés? pourquoi l'obliger à laisser le certain, pour courir après l'incertain? jusqu'ici pas un argument pour appuyer cette mesure n'a été soumis au public.

Un bill de cette importance, passerait il? une telle loi doit elle être rendue sans que toutes les parties, toutes les classes de la société fussent pourquoi elle a été faite? Dimanche 7 courant le bill fut porté pardevant le sénat pour la discussion, un membre objecta à quelques unes de ses dispositions;—un de ses défenseurs se leva et demanda que la considération du bill soit différée et donna à entendre, comme il s'asseyait, qu'il avait intention de parler au premier en particulier* qu'est ce que ceci veut dire? Si les principes et les arguments sur lesquels le bill est fondé sont exacts, pourquoi être effrayés de les déduire au public? pourquoi préférer une chambre privée, à la salle du sénat.

Si ce bill passe et devient loi, son exécution aura certainement d'effrayantes conséquences. Le cœur du philanthrope en seignera et beau coup de pleurs amers seront versés à cette heure de désolation. Les intérêts, et la réputation de l'Etat recevront un coup terrible. La partie Sud Est de notre Etat perdra plus de la dixième partie de sa population. Car bien peu de gens de couleur nés ici n'ont pas parmi ceux émigrés de St. Domingue quelques uns de leurs plus proches parents bien peu qui puissent ou qui voudraient s'en séparer. Par de fréquents mariages ils se sont tellement identifiés les uns avec les autres que toute division est impossible. Si vous en expulsez quelques uns, tous les autres les suivront. Notre ville, si cette classe d'habitants et chassée de l'Etat, perdra presque tous ces utiles et industrieux artisans qui y restent pendant l'été. Ainsi pendant ce temps tous les travaux seront suspendus. Et

*Nous pensons que la même chose est arrivée à la chambre.

même en hiver qui peut nous assurer que nous pourrions les remplacer car qui sait si les ouvriers, dont nous aurons plus besoin, surabondent suffisamment pour satisfaire à toutes nos demandes, dans les pays dont ils préfèrent le climat à celui-ci.

Mais arrêtons nous un moment et peignons à nos imaginations les scènes qu'amènerait une telle loi.

Là nous voyons des parens qui avaient espéré passer ensemble une longue, paisible et heureuse vie se séparer les uns des autres; leurs yeux baignés de larmes, en se disant un déchirant adieu. Ici un père entouré de ses enfans en pleurs, accablé de tristesse, et le désespoir sur le visage abandonnant la terre où il avait passé vingt trois ans d'une vie utile. Il l'abandonne pour chercher dans des climats éloignés un asile que notre ingrat pays lui refuse. L'un se suicide, un autre préfère être vendu comme esclave plutôt que d'abandonner cet Etat. Une femme à genoux implore l'autorité de lui permettre de rester. Ma tête est blanchie par l'âge, s'écrie-t-elle, ne m'exposer pas seule et sans protecteur à aller chercher un abri chez un peuple étranger. J'ai ici quelques amis que j'aime et qui m'aident à gagner ma frugale nourriture. Où irai-je? qui sont ceux à qui je serai obligé de demander l'aumône? quand la mort viendra, qui fermera mes yeux? qui me descendra dans le tombeau? qui pleurera une créature pauvre et misérable comme moi? maintenant voyez la se trainant vers le bâtiment, elle y entre et dans son désespoir elle appelle la mort pour la délivrer d'un monde dans lequel elle a été victime d'une telle barbarie, d'une telle cruauté. La mort n'est point sourde à ses prières, elle vient bientôt la délivrer de tous ses maux; sa santé, sa fragile existence ne peut supporter les fatigues et les privations d'une traversée.

O! sages législateurs ceci sera votre ouvrage; ceci sera le résultat de la loi que vous aurez rendue. Vous que vos concitoyens ont placé dans le poste élevé que vous occupez pour chercher les intérêts et le bonheur de notre pays. Que penseront de ceci les autres Etats de l'Union; quel rang les nations étrangères assigneront-elles à vos principes moraux et politiques. Et ceux qui s'opposent à une telle mesure seront-ils terrassés, méprisés? La bonne volonté, l'appui des vrais républicains seront-ils refusés à ceux qui cherchent à faire échouer de tels projets?

Afin de ne nous jamais écarter des bornes du bon ordre et *decorum*, nous avons établi pour règle de ne jamais rien publier qui puisse troubler la paix et la tranquillité publique. Nous disons ceci parceque nous savons qu'il y a quelques personnes qui sont d'opinion que parler en faveur et même exprimer des opinions telles que les nôtres peuvent avoir cet effet. Si nous pensions qu'une telle idée fut juste nous poserions la plume et effacerions tout ce que nous avons écrit; mais nous sommes convaincus du contraire—car c'est dans l'intérêt de ceux qui veulent éloigner de cet Etat tout trouble, tout désordre que nous parlons. C'est pour ceux qui desiront sa prospérité et des améliorations que nous sommes aujourd'hui en présence du public.

Maintenant nous comptons sur la générosité et l'indulgence de nos lecteurs. Nous espérons

qu'ils ne considéreront que les motifs qui nous animent. De leur pureté, Dieu en est témoin.

§ Les Editeurs du Génie de l'Emancipation Universelle se trouvent dans l'impossibilité de continuer la publication de ce papier par semaine, pour le besoin du patronage. Ils ont en conséquence dissout la société; et la publication sera conduite à l'avenir, par Benjamin Lundy, l'éditeur d'autrefois, et paraîtra une fois par mois. Dans la forme d'un octavo, et aura une couverture. Prix de l'abonnement, un gourde pour l'année en avance.

BLACK LIST.

KIDNAPPING.

A most daring and atrocious case of kidnapping has very recently occurred. I have been made acquainted with some of the particulars; but they are withheld from the public, at present, in the hope that the violators of the law may be brought to justice. The facts shall be stated in due time. Meanwhile, I advise all young colored persons to be cautious in venturing out, at night, where they are not known. There is as much danger of being kidnapped and enslaved in this country, as on the coast of Africa. However unwelcome this may be to our religion professing, Church-going people, it is nevertheless a fact! Americans, ponder and blush.—Blush, not for your country, but for—YOURSELVES!

SLAVE TRADE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

We learn, from official documents, that the number of slaves decreased in South Carolina, 32,727, in one year, from 1824 to 1825!—There must have been a pretty brisk traffic, there; or else the horrors of the "murderous system" are rapidly increasing.—Take which construction we will, it is a state of things that few places in the known world can parallel.

Tyranny in Louisiana.

From the New-Orleans "*Liberalist*," we learn that a bill was under discussion,

in the Legislature, at a late date, which provides for the expulsion of all free colored persons from that State, who have entered it since 1827!!—It would seem that hypocrisy and tyranny have so long swayed the hearts of many of our southern nabobs, the “measure of their iniquity” must be nearly full.

PREJUDICE AND TYRANNY IN OHIO.

Not only were the inhabitants of some particular parts of Ohio sufficiently influenced by a spirit of cruelty to drive the people of color to a distant land; but when application was made to the Legislature for pecuniary aid in their removal, *that body contumeliously denied them!* At the same time it must have been borne in mind, that in case of compulsory transportation, as the law contemplates if they refuse a compliance with its requisitions, it will cost, perhaps, tenfold the sum that they asked. Many have removed, at their own expense; but others are not able, and it was fair to presume that assistance would have been given. We need scarcely wonder, however, at these proceedings of the Legislature, when we recollect that a considerable portion of the people themselves have manifested a willingness to support so unjust and tyrannical a law as that which demands the expulsion of the colored race from the State.

But it is consoling to learn that, notwithstanding the want of liberality on the part of the Legislature, *individuals* have been found, in that state and elsewhere, who have kindly assisted some of the needy to place themselves beyond the pale of this cruel prejudice and persecution. The governor and some of the representatives, in their individual capacities, contributed something for that purpose. The colored people, in Philadelphia and other places, have also rendered them assistance, in the same way.

It appears that a degree of commotion has been raised in the public mind, by

the severe measures adopted relative to the colored people, here alluded to; and there is some doubt as to the ultimate issue. An Ohio paper, now before me, of recent date, mentions that the Society of Friends had petitioned the Legislature for a repeal of the odious law, but the members were not disposed to do this; yet some of them admitted that “*the law could not be enforced,*” being probably unconstitutional. Whether this will be the interpretation that will be given it or not, it is to be hoped that a majority of the citizens will soon discover that it is both oppressive and disgraceful to their statute book.

WALKER’S BOSTON PAMPHLET.

I had not seen this far-famed production until within a few days. A more bold, daring, inflammatory publication, perhaps, never issued from the press, in any country. I can do no less than set the broadest seal of condemnation upon it. Such things can have no other earthly effect than to injure our cause. The writer indulges himself in the wildest strain of reckless fanaticism. He makes a great parade of technical phraseology, purporting to be religious; but religion has nothing at all to do with it. It is a labored attempt to rouse the worst passions of human nature, and inflame the minds of those to whom it is addressed.

Granting that the colored race have as much cause for complaint as this writer intimates, (and I readily grant it,) yet this is not the way to obtain redress for their wrongs. The *moral*, not the physical, power of this nation must be put in requisition. Any attempt to obtain their liberty and just rights, by force, must for a long time to come end in defeat, if not the extermination of the colored people. It is to avert so direful a catastrophe, that the wise and the good are now exerting themselves, in various parts of our country. How painful, then, must it be to such, to witness a fiery ebullition of rage,

like that under consideration, when every appeal should be made to reason and the judgment, instead of the malignant passions. There can be no impropriety in an expression of sentiment, on the part of the colored people, relative to their wrongs, provided it be done in a truly Christian spirit: but acrimonious language should not be indulged, and even revengeful feeling should be repressed, as much as possible. A disposition to promote turbulent and violent commotion, will only tend to procrastinate the march of justice, and defer the enfranchisement of the colored race among us; of course every appearance thereof should be discountenanced by persons of every color and condition. And I am glad to find that some of the coloured people have *publicly* condemned the pamphlet in question.

SLAVE TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It is stated that the British Government has expended about 5,000,000 pounds sterling in endeavoring to abolish the foreign slave trade:—and yet, little or nothing to the purpose has been effected. —The *market*, the *MARKET*, ye *wise ones*!—DESTROY THAT, and your work is done:—but IT NEVER WILL BE, until then.

Extracts, Selections, &c.

FLORIDA SUGAR CULTURE.

The extract below, from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, is important. The lands belonging to Gen. La Fayette, here alluded to, are, no doubt, exceedingly well adapted to this species of culture. The General is desirous to dispose of a part of them: and I know that he is anxious to put them in possession of such persons as will employ none but FREE LABORERS in cultivating them.

I have on file, for insertion in the next number of this work, a valuable article, relative to the management of a sugar plantation, near Darien, Georgia, by a mitigated system of slave labor. These

things merit the attention of all who desire the abolition of slavery.

“Florida is now rapidly settling by intelligent and enterprising men, who are turning their attention to the cultivation of sugar. Experiment has demonstrated that an acre of land, which would yield twenty bushels of corn, will turn out a hoghead, or a thousand pounds of sugar, the molasses paying the expense of cultivation, and the sugar being worth to the planter, upon an average, seven cents a pound.—Nearly all the land in Florida is capable of producing the same results. The celebrated La Fayette has a large tract of this country, which will grow excellent sugars, and the Congress having fixed a duty of five dollars per cent. on foreign sugars, will give the planters of Florida a monopoly of the American market. We understand there is a gentleman now in England, who has purchased the adjoining county to La Fayette’s, consisting of 80,000 acres, upon part of which he planted the sugar cane several years since. He intends ultimately to cultivate the whole by free labor; to declare all the children free, and during their minority to give them an excellent education.”

INTELLIGENCE FROM HAYTI.

Extract of a letter to the editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, dated Port au Prince, 7th March, 1830.

“DEAR SIR:—In haste I drop you a line, to inform you that Miss Wright arrived here about twelve days since, with thirty slaves, who are now free and well settled in the neighborhood of the last twelve, settled by you, on a place of the President’s. The Spaniards have not arrived yet, and they had better not.”

The following is extracted from a letter received by John Noel, of Baltimore, from John N. Coste, formerly of this city, but now residing in Port au Prince. It is dated January 21st, 1830. Samuel G. Douglass (the person alluded to in this letter) also went from Baltimore, a few months since, with a view of settling there as a farmer.

“As regards the information requested, concerning the emigrants brought out by Mr. Lundy, they were in health last Friday, and doing as well as might be expected; and I am told they are as well satisfied as persons can be, in their situation—seeing they are but newly settled. They have settled at l’Arcahai, one of the finest portions of the island; which is evident from the number of Americans that have lately settled there, and the many now looking for situations in that quarter. The common talk here, at present, is of going to l’Arcahai. I have not seen those persons (emigrants) for some time, say about two months. I got my information from a respectable farmer of the name of Johnson, who resides there, and went again on Saturday night, accompanied by Douglass, who is also about to seek a situation there. Douglass has just got back, and reports favorably of the place, and the emigrants above alluded to; and is now making preparation for returning there.”



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

No. 2. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MAY, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 254. VOL. XI.

§ Subscribers to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, who have paid for the weekly paper a year in advance, will receive the monthly a longer time, or may each have another copy, at their option. They will, if they choose the latter, give the editor information, through the medium of post-masters, or his agents. *Back numbers* of the monthly paper may be had at any time.

§ Since the last number of this work was issued, many of our friends have expressed their regret for the necessity of the change from a weekly to a monthly publication. Some have tendered the promise of further assistance in its circulation, if my late partner and myself will resume it in form, style, &c. as it appeared previous to the change aforesaid. One gentleman has publicly offered, thro' the medium of a mutual friend, to become responsible for *one hundred copies, to be paid for in advance*, on that condition. This is, indeed, a flattering proposal, the more so as he is entirely unknown to us—and he will please accept our thanks for his favorable opinion of our humble labors.—But even with that addition to our subscription list, we should not be safe in recommencing the weekly paper. If, however, it shall be found that the advocates of our cause are prepared to aid its circulation *so as to enable us both to*

remain at home to superintend it, we shall have no objections to renewing the weekly publication. § If they will give us a patronage that we can *live by*, we are *ready for them*.

But whether the weekly paper be resumed or not, *it will be continued monthly*. Its friends are, therefore, earnestly desired to assist in giving a more extensive circulation to it in this form. For terms, see the prospectus, on the outside of the cover.

THE LIBEL SUIT.

TERMINATION OF THE TRIAL.—IMPRISONMENT OF W. L. GARRISON!

At length a Jury has been found, willing to second the efforts of the slavites, in denouncing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and shielding the abettors of the American Slave Trade from public reproach.

The Libel Suit, instituted by Todd, of Newburyport, has been decided in his favor; and my late partner is now IN PRISON!! Here he must remain, until he complies with his sentence, and pays his fine with the costs of suit. Strange as it may seem to our friends, elsewhere, the *truth* cannot be told, here, relative to the accursed traffic in human flesh, without danger of insult, abuse, and bonds!!!—And *very few DARE* to speak freely of this state of things. The printers are even afraid to put a commentary upon it in

type, though they may have nothing to do with the authorship.

The press is now muzzled. I have not one, at present, under my own control, and cannot, consequently, expatiate upon this subject as I could wish. My friend, Garrison will give a brief exposition of the proceedings on his trial in the case before us, to which the reader will please refer for information respecting the particulars of it. I shall avail myself of some opportunity, at a future period, to expose the conduct of certain persons in this case, as it deserves.

MORE "GLORIOUS DEEDS!"

By the last number of the "African Repository," we learn that 49 slaves, emancipated expressly for that purpose, were taken in one vessel, not long since o Africa; and 30 more liberated by *Joel Early, Esq.* of Georgia, have arrived at Norfolk, with the same view, and expect to sail shortly.

It rejoices me to record acts of this nature. It appears to be the particular concern of the *Pennsylvania auxiliary* to the Colonization Society, to attend to this. The sum of \$2,296 has recently been raised by that institution, for the express purpose of transporting *liberated slaves* to the African Colony.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

By the politeness of a gentleman in Philadelphia, I have been favored with an extract of a letter from James C. Brown, agent of the colored people from Ohio, dated early in March, last.

This letter states that the writer had an interview with the governor, a short time previous, and received assurances from him that the people of color from the U. S. may go on with their settlements, without the fear of molestation, *and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges that white men generally do in Canada.*

A society of colored persons has been

organized in Philadelphia, as well as in Boston, and several other places, to promote the emigration thither. They have consulted the British Consul in Philadelphia, and he advises them to proceed, in the belief that they will be protected in the full enjoyment of their rights, in like manner as other British subjects are.

These items of information are encouraging. Agents, from various places, have gone on, to make arrangements for an extensive emigration. Two went through this place, very recently, from Virginia; and one expects to go from this city, in a short time. It would seem that they all forget both *Hayti* and *Africa*; and I do not wonder at it. Many have said, in Maryland, that they would cheerfully remove, if they could "go a-foot"—and they now seem disposed to give proofs of such a disposition.

VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

The Constitution agreed upon by this assembly of sage reformers, and perhaps, sanctioned by a majority of the people, is not such an one as accords with the spirit of this age and nation. The advocates of free republican institutions had a right to expect better things from such a body of men. The following extract will shew how far, and under what regulations, the right of suffrage has been extended by the Convention.

"The right of suffrage is extended to every white male citizen of the Commonwealth, resident therein, aged 21 years and upwards, who is qualified to exercise the right of suffrage according to the former Constitution and laws;—or who owns a freehold of the value of 25 dollars; or who has a joint interest to the amount of 25 dollars in a freehold, or who has a life estate in, or reversionary title to, land of the value of 50 dollars, having been so possessed for six months; or who shall own and be in the actual occupation of a leasehold estate, having the title recorded two months before he shall offer to vote—of a term originally not less than five years, and of the annual value or rent of \$200;—or who for twelve months before offering to vote, has been a house-keeper and head of a family, and shall have been assessed with a part of the revenue of the Commonwealth within the preceding year and actually paid the same. Two or more tenants in common may vote upon the same freehold, if its value shall entitle

them to do so,—each one's interest amounting to twenty-five dollars.”

But the odious feature of the old Constitution, relative to *slave representation*, is still preserved. The advocates of liberal principles were out-generalled by the slave-holding oligarchs. The sixth article is as follows:

“The whole number of members to which the state may at any time be entitled in the House of Representatives of the United States, shall be apportioned as nearly as may be amongst the several counties, cities, boroughs, and towns of the State, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.”

This article is extremely obnoxious to the people of the western part of the state. It was their wish to curtail, and finally destroy, the system of slavery. The delegation from that section labored hard to accomplish their object, but were defeated by a small majority. A great sensation has thus been produced, and much indignation is expressed, in various places.

To shew the spirit and tone of the Western people, relative to this subject, the paragraph below is copied from the “*Wheeling Compiler*,” of the 10th ult. They have been tampered with so long, by the eastern slavites, that it is, no doubt, a difficult matter to restrain their indignation so as to keep it within the bounds of moderation.

“Should the victory turn out in favor of our opponents, the determined enemies of equal rights and practical republicanism, we still have, provided the entire West will move unanimously with the counties in this section of the state, *one chance left*—and that is SEPARATION. This will not prove an impracticable matter, if the people of the West only WILL IT, it is effected.”

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a meeting, in Wheeling, which was composed of a large number of the citizens, among whom were some of the first characters in Western Virginia.

“*Resolved*. That in the opinion of this meeting, the new constitution submitted to the consideration of the people, is not such an one as the citizens of Virginia can or ought to accept.

Resolved, That the Delegates in Convention from this district, are entitled to the sincere thanks of the friends of reform, for their firm and decided opposition to the unjust and anti-republican principles of the new Constitution.”

Some further notice will probably be taken of this subject at a future period. The doctrines advanced by a few of the delegates, in the Convention were monstrous—abominable.

Thus ended the performances of this proud assembly of “great men!” Truly, may it be said: “The mountain has been in labor,” and a ridiculous mouse is brought forth!!

BURNING REBUKE.

What will the people of Ohio say to the following language, applied to them by that arch slavite, Senator *Benton*? They richly deserve it; and I am right glad that they have got it. In his speech on the subject of western lands, &c. and in allusion to the late Missouri controversy, Benton makes these *cutting* remarks:

“And what have we seen since? The actual expulsion of a great body of free colored people from the State of Ohio, and not one word of objection. *** The papers state the compulsory expatriation from Cincinnati at 2000 souls; the whole number that may be compelled to expatriate from the State of Ohio at 10,000! This is a remarkable event, Sir, paralleled only by the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the Hugonots from France.”

* * * * *

“My occupation, for the present, is with these characters—“*Les Amis des Noirs*”—the friends of the blacks—*then* so plenty, [during the Missouri contest] *now* so scarce! Where are they! Where gone? How shrunk up! Not even one friend, one voice here! Where are the crowds that *then* thronged the public meetings? Where the tongues which were *then* so fluent? The sighs, then so piercing! The eyes, then so wet with tears? All gone; all silent; all hushed! The thronged crowd has disappeared; the fluent tongue has cleaved to the roof of the mouth, the piercing sigh has died away, and the streaming eye, exhausted of its fluid contents, has dried up to the

innermost sources of the Lachrymal duct, and hangs over the pitiable scene, with the arid composure of a rainless cloud in the midst of a sandy desert."

The style of the foregoing is, indeed, so villainous, that nothing would justify the quoting it, save that it came from the lips of a Senator!—yet I repeat that the castigation is well merited by the authorities of Ohio; and I am not so fastidious as to regret that an *untrimmed* "hickory" was used upon the occasion. In the language of the poet, I am almost ready to say, that the actors in that tyrannical business have "damned to lasting fame" both themselves and the people they represented. I would fain hope, however, that the voice of the people will hence denounce their proceedings, even though they may not be able to make amends for the injury done to the innocent sufferers.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A bill has been introduced in Congress, relative to *Slavery in the District of Columbia*. It is a rank slavite measure.—More anon.

AFRICAN INTELLECT.

We have heard it gravely asserted, even by no less a personage than the patriotic and enlightened Jefferson, that the African race is naturally inferior, in intellectual capacity, to the people of other nations, particularly those of fairer complexion. But this doctrine has been controverted a thousand times. Proofs of its fallacy multiply on every hand. Yet whether the sagacious Jefferson lived long enough to see his error, and change his opinion in that respect, as he did in some others of importance, I have not been informed.

It is stated, on the authority of the "*Hampshire Gazette*," that the following is the "poetical effusion of a slave; who, tho' able to read, has never acquired the art of writing." He is now 32

years of age; and labors on his master's

farm. He composes his pieces and commits them to memory, until he can get them written for him.

How many are there among us, that would perform better under similar circumstances?—A *deliberate* answer, now.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

Alas, and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain,
Deprived of all created bliss,
Through hardship, toil and pain?
How long have I in bondage lain
And languished to be free;
Alas, and must I still complain,
Deprived of liberty?
Oh Heaven! and is there no relief
This side the silent grave,
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief
And anguish of a slave?
Come liberty, thou cheerful sound,
Roll through my ravished ears,
Come let my grief in joys be drowned,
And drive away my fears.—
Say unto foul oppression, cease,
Ye tyrants rage no more,
And let the joyful trump of peace
Now bid the vassal soar—
Soar on the pinions of that dove
Which long has coo'd for thee,
And breathed her notes from Afric's grove,
The sound of Liberty.—
Oh Liberty! thou golden prize
So often sought by blood,
We crave thy sacred sun to rise,
The gift of nature's God—
Bid Slavery hide her haggard face,
And barbarism flee;
I scorn to see the sad disgrace
In which enslaved I lie.
Dear Liberty, upon thy breast
I languish to respire,
And like the swan unto her nest
I'd to thy smiles retire.
Oh blest asylum—heavenly balm!
Unto thy boughs I flee—
And in thy shades the storm shall calm
With songs of Liberty.

MEXICO.—TEXAS.—"LA SALLE."

The Republic of Mexico appears yet to be in rather an unsettled condition. Since the expulsion of the late Spanish invaders, the patriotic and philanthropic Guerrero has been compelled to resign the Presidency, and a radical change has been made in the administration of the government.

But notwithstanding a new party has arisen and supplanted the authority by which slavery was recently annihilated, it appears that those now in power are not disposed to place in the hands of this

government the means of subjecting a large portion of their territory again to the influence of the ruinous and horrible system. From the Mexican paper entitled "*El Sol*," of January 9th, the following is extracted, shewing the aversion of the Mexican people to the transfer of Texas to the government of this Union. It must be understood that "*El Sol*" is the organ of the present Administration in Mexico; at the head of which is the late Vice President, Bustamante.

"A few days before the departure of Mr. Poinsett from this capital, the American *Col. Butler* arrived, commissioned, it is said, by the Government of Washington to negotiate with ours on the cession of the Province of Texas, and authorized to offer for the same the sum of five millions of dollars. As we are not informed that the Colonel has as yet done any thing in this matter, we presume he does the new Administration the justice to believe them incapable of lending themselves to a transaction as prejudicial and disgraceful to the Republic, as dishonorable to the Minister who should subscribe to it.

We understand, also, that *Col. Butler* came by land from Philadelphia, and that the fatigue consequent on so long a journey is the ostensible reason for not having presented himself to our Government, and delivered his credentials, which it is known he received after his arrival at this capital, to enter upon the duties of *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States of the north."

It is not *certain* that *Col. Butler* was authorized by our government to propose the purchase of the Texas country. But whether he was or not, it is to be hoped that he will not succeed. So much are the Mexicans opposed to it, that a rumor lately obtained credit among them of an attempt by our government to take forcible possession of the territory in question; and *Gen. Teran*, Minister of War, has been despatched to the north, to enquire into the state of things. By some it is believed that he was only charged with a private mission; but as the nature of it is not stated, we are at liberty to suppose that his object is one of public importance.

From a late London Paper, it appears that the British entertain some jealousy of our Texas schemers. The following is extracted from the "*Times*."

"The gentleman in question [*Mr. Poinsett*] is understood to have a thorough knowledge of the internal condition of Mexico,—of her parties,—her resources,—and her wants; whether it be quite a fair use to make of such knowledge, for a diplomatic agent to take an active part in inflaming the distractions of an infant state, that a better bargain may be thereby squeezed out of her distresses by a worldly minded power, seeking to snatch from her an extensive and highly productive province, is a point of casuistry which we are not called upon to decide. But this we know, that it is not wisdom or sound policy in England to see the state of Mexico either crushed by a tyrant, or by a neighbour cozened. Without going deep into a delicate subject, we will say that the United States have got far enough to the southward and westward on the Gulf of Mexico, and that it is for the interest and safety of our colonies to have Mexico rather than the United States for their neighbour. The province of Texas ought to remain Mexican, as it is, and not be swallowed up, like the *Floridas* and the whole course of the *Mississippi*, by any grasping Government.

There is no pecuniary temptation,—no financial distress, no consideration for the support of public credit, which ought to induce a sovereign state to sacrifice its natural dominions; nor do we suppose that the King of England would look on passively while such a transfer was negotiated. In the mean time, we ought to have an able Minister at the capital of the Mexican Republic."

It would seem, from the different views here taken of the subject, that the grand project of "*Americanus*," alias "*La Salle*," alias *Thomas H. Benton*, Senator of the United States, and Champion of the Slave Faction in this Republic, is not yet likely to be carried into effect. He is therefore advised to look elsewhere—to some other clime—for scope to gratify his avarice and ambition, where the congenial atmosphere will not mildew the tyrant's rod, and where he may "lord it over God's heritage" to better advantage.

At a future time, I shall probably give the readers of this work a specimen of *Thomas H. Benton's* (alias "*La Salle's*") logic, relative to the preponderance of the "*Free States*" in this Union. He is not only a rare speechifier, but also a curious *argumentalist*, if I may be permitted to coin a phrase.

Since the foregoing was written, we learn that the present government of Mexico has revoked the edict of the late President, *Guerrero*, totally abolishing Slavery, so far as relates to the Province of Texas. The law is, however, still in

force prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, and securing the freedom of all born after a certain period. There are said to be upwards of a thousand slaves in that part of the Mexican Republic, principally taken from the United States.

Another very important measure has also been adopted. The Texas country is to be governed, hereafter, as a *colony*; and the migration of persons from the *United States* is strictly forbidden, except such as may be specially permitted by the Governor.—So much for our meddling with our neighbour's concerns—So much for Benton's disinterested zeal and overflowing patriotism! This American "Cataline," as he has been denominated by his Senatorial colleague, Mr. Barton, is not likely to succeed as well in perpetuating slavery in Texas, as in *Missouri*. Though his impudence and tyranny know no *voluntary* bounds, it is to be hoped that his despotic aspirations have received a timely check.

OPINIONS OF FRANCES WRIGHT, &c.

I find, from the remarks of many highly esteemed friends, that I am suspected of entertaining opinions, relative to religion and government, somewhat similar to those held by Frances Wright, Robert Owen, and their associates! Had those who prefer this charge, taken the pains to examine the columns of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, instead of listening to what idle gossips have related, I think they would have been satisfied that no cause existed for such a supposition.

At a future period, I purpose to review this subject more at length. The reader is at present referred to pages 37, 103, 149, of Volume VII, (Vol. I. new series,) and page 94, volume VIII, for my remarks, touching the same, at different times.

In the last mentioned page, the following sentence may be found, in a short article from my own pen, viz.—“In the

first place we believe, that the practice at present adopted there, [F. W.'s Institution at Nashoba,] respecting religion and government, is too latitudinarian, and averse to the nature and general opinions of mankind, to promise the usefulness anticipated by the friends of the Institution.”

The last paragraph I quote entire, as follows:—

“To conclude, while we yet hope that the *motives* of the founder of Nashoba are good, we are decidedly opposed to her present plan of proceeding. We consider it too wide a departure from the rules of wisdom and experience; and *calculated to break up the foundations of social order*, instead of improving the edifice at present erected.”

Surely! one would suppose this was plain enough. But it seems that it was not so.—And, in order to place my sentiments in a still clearer light, I shall resume the subject when I may have more room. I shall then also pay my respects to Col. Stone, of the New-York “*Commercial Advertiser*,” who, by a heedless, censorious paragraph, while I was from home, contributed more, perhaps, than anything said by any one else, to misrepresent my real views in this matter. There are many traits in his editorial character that I heartily admire; but, at the same time, he is both bigoted and illiberal.

§ The attention of the reader is particularly invited to the article in this number, respecting the cultivation of the Sugar Cane, by a system of *mitigated* Slave-Labor. It is an excellent *Text* for anti-slavery commentators.—I hope they will profit by it. I will only say, at this time: If the advantages, arising from such liberal treatment, be thus apparent, is it not probable that it might very properly be carried a little further?

THE MAILS—“REFORM!”

In common with many others, I receive frequent accounts of irregularity in the

transmission of this work by mail. One of my subscribers concludes a letter as follows :

"I wish to know whether the papers have been regularly and seasonably put into your post-office. If they have, and thus more than half lost on the passage, I must withdraw my name from your list of subscribers ; for really, sir, I do not like to be *reformed* out of so much good reading."

I will cheerfully make the man a *life-subscriber* to the Genius of Universal Emancipation, (provided I publish it long enough,) who will give me information that shall lead to a conviction of the "reformer," or "reformers," who thus lay their *un-reformed* hands upon the paper, and stop its free circulation. It has been placed in the post-office, here, as regularly as printed, both for this subscriber and others. If the rogues can be detected, they shall have such a "reforming" as they never yet had.

AMERICAN CONVENTION.

The minutes of the late session of the American Convention &c. are ready for delivery at this office.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

I have not yet been able to procure the engraved likeness of Benjamin Lay. It will be prepared in season for my next number, when the "Biographical Sketches" will be resumed, and regularly continued.

SHAMELESS PLAGIARISM.

Did the editor of the *Buck's County Intelligencer* read the 16th number of the tenth volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* ?—and is he not ashamed of his correspondent "W." for writing, and of himself for publishing, in his paper of March 22, the outrageous plagiarism entitled the "Cherokee's Appeal?" The literary *thief* deserves the more signal punishment, as he passed off the beautiful production, in part, of a *female poet*, for the coinage of his own shallow brain! He should be chained at the

foot of Parnassus, for twenty years, and for the remainder of his life be soused in Lethe's oblivious pool.

Correspondence.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

As respects the following strictures, we wish to be distinctly understood, that in speaking of southern slaveholders and measures, we have no allusion to a large and increasing body of our fellow citizens who are uprightly seeking to be relieved from the loss, the shame, and the every way deplorable effects, resulting from holding slaves. These, though breathing a pestilential atmosphere, are preserved in a good degree of moral health, and claim all our sympathy—all our fellow feeling—and all the aid we can possibly render, to make their habitations permanently healthful and tranquil.

Our business, at this time, is with a totally different description of men—men who in the nineteenth century are boldly advocating the continuance of negro slavery! and who are resolved on adopting the Egyptian policy to perpetuate it. One of these has, however, discovered that the Israelites were longer in bondage than the blacks have yet been to us, and hints at the possibility of a change in their situation, tho' he gives abundant evidence that the slaves shall never be liberated if he can prevent it.—Another, and a Senator too, sheds a profusion of crocodile tears over the free blacks in the northern cities, who, he says, have been "seduced" to leave their masters.—Most pathetically does he mourn over them, as having fled from sufferings which had existence only in the "sickly imaginations" of their advisers; as if indeed the individuals he whines over had no personal knowledge of the reality of those sufferings.—Why did he not offer, in the depth of "the wisdom, justice and benevolence of the Southern slaveholder," to re-convey the *able-bodied* among them, who could endure the voyage, to his favorite South Carolina, and re-invest their wrists and ancles with the bracelets so cruelly broken off by the "deluded victims of fanaticism?" He quotes Scripture too.—Oh! it is sickening.—Such language, from such men, is revolting to every honorable feeling.—Slavery, says he, "has never yet produced any injurious effect on individual or national character." Is this true? We ask the reader to examine for him-

self the correspondence between Georgia and the late General Government of the Union for evidence of its *legitimate* effects in a national point of view! We make no comments; for, fallen into the spoiler's hand and dishonored as she is, we yet remember that Georgia is our Sister, and we cannot discard her, while a hope remains that she may be reclaimed to virtue.

As respects individual character, we readily admit that the Southern States have produced "bright examples" of intellectual and moral greatness; but to which of the classes we have mentioned did they belong? We fearlessly say to the first; otherwise, as respects this question, at least, there could be no moral, *what-*ever there was of intellectual greatness. Washington could not die in peace until he had provided for the freedom of his slaves. Jefferson deplored the evil, and in glowing colours portrayed its debasing effects on the *master* as well as the slave. As to *living* great men, we will wait awhile before we admit their claim to the appellation. Trace the features of the Southern Slaveholder in the youthful slave, (his natural born son,) and then say that slavery "has never yet produced any injurious effects on individual character." Yet, the fact, revolting as it is, is not the worst trait in his character. See him sell this slave into endless bondage! Can any human being sink himself lower in the scale of moral degradation? But you tell us he is possessed of a noble spirit of chivalry! Buckle round him, then, his belt with his pistols and dagger, give him a cow-skin, and place before him twenty or thirty half-naked, half-starved, affrighted negroes, and we shall see how brave he is.—Oh, it is pitiful! The meanest man of blood, the duellist, would be ashamed to raise an instrument of death against an unarmed man! He boasts too of his magnanimity; and we hope he will not, for proof of it, make the naked shoulders of his slave expiate our offence in writing these lines.

There are those who assert that the general government has no power to rescue one portion of the American people from the abominable grasp of the other; and in this opinion we were once almost constrained to concur. But on examining the Constitution, it appeared that every state was guaranteed a *republican* form of Government. Now should it be found that a minority in any State

control the majority, and not content with this, buy and sell, and treat them as beasts of burden, can this be a *republic*?

In one view no viler oligarchy can possibly exist; and the grievance should be promptly redressed, or an alteration be made in the Constitution, so as to guarantee to all the States, south of a certain degree of north latitude, "an aristocratic form of government."

We have long expected the efforts of the friends of humanity would be visited as is now seen in increased restrictions and exactions on the innocent slaves. Here, too, their lords find a precedent in scripture. The example of Pharaoh, when Moses and Aaron pleaded for the Israelites, is most appropriate.

The sceptre is, however, departing from these men. The wise and temperate will, we trust, be able to wrest it from them ere the land become a desolation.

An eminent personage has recently raised a hue and cry against fanatics. This is a poor business for a great man. He should have remembered that hunted fanatics fled from the Netherlands into England, and carried with them the knowledge of the manufactory of woollens, before unknown in the latter country. Hunted fanatics first settled New England. And informers against the Quakers used to say they were going "a fanatic hunting." But we shall perhaps be told, it is the *fanatic of liberty* (not religion) that is now so mischievous. We admit the fact. It is but too true that individuals may be found of a higher grade than the hunted black man—men who can declaim about violated constitutions, who are yet such hollow devotees to liberty as to inflict on others what they would rather die than endure themselves. Here is practical fanaticism, or something worse, which it were well worth the efforts of the chief magistrate of a great state to correct; and were he sincerely to make the attempt, we are convinced he would succeed. We did not expect Virginia would have joined in this unhallowed crusade against the common light of heaven, and cannot but hope there is a spirit in that state that will yet redeem its character. Let the words of Lafayette be remembered when speaking of slavery in the United States. He said, "It is a dark spot on the face of the nation; such a state of things cannot always exist."

M.

LADIES' REPOSITORY.

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

OUR FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA.

The information we receive, respecting the Philadelphia Association for promoting the use of Free Cotton, still continues to be highly encouraging. By the last accounts we understand that, of the expected cotton mentioned in their Report for April, thirty bales have been received, accompanied by certificates, from unquestionable authority, of its having been prepared solely by the hands of freemen. This has been purchased by a respectable manufacturer, and is probably now in a state of preparation for the market.

We have before expressed our satisfaction at the success of this Society, and we again reiterate our most cordial good wishes for its still increasing prosperity. Its members seek no reward but the consciousness that they have been useful to their fellow creatures; and may that be multiplied to them tenfold.

We perhaps ought to apologize for an error in the concluding sentence of their last Report, by which the word "operation" was transformed into "opposition;"—making a considerable alteration in the sentiment expressed. We know there is nothing belligerent either in the opinions or disposition of our friends.

PROGRESS OF SENTIMENT.

We are informed that an order has been received from Indiana, by a merchant of Philadelphia, for an assortment of such goods as could be procured, manufactured from *free cotton*. We are delighted to find so favorable a spirit manifesting itself in the West. One year since such a demand, had it been made, could not have been met with a supply of the desired articles—most assuredly it could not with those wrought from American material.

FREE DRY GOODS' STORE.

Nothing speaks more forcibly of the advance of public sentiment in favor of emancipation, than the rapidly increasing demand for free produce. A Store for the sale of cotton goods of this class, has been recently opened by LYDIA WHITE, at No. 86, N. Fifth street, PHILADEL-

PHIA. This is we believe the first establishment, exclusively of this character, which has been attempted. A few years since it would probably have met with little else than ridicule; but now we hope that it will be sustained by a generous patronage.* We understand that the proprietor was influenced in her undertaking solely by conscientious motives, and a desire of offering to purchasers a greater facility than they have hitherto possessed, for procuring the various articles of free cotton manufacture. We are proud to know that the projector of so laudable a design is one of our own sex. She ought not, in honor for her consistency, to be suffered to feel any of the pecuniary sacrifice to which she has exposed herself through zeal for the cause of freedom. We are sure she *deserves* encouragement; and we hope that she will liberally receive it.

LADIES' PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

It is extremely gratifying to learn that our female friends, in Great Britain, are still actively engaged in exposing the manifold evils, and endeavouring to effect the final abolition, of British West-Indian Slavery. To the politeness of the Secretary of the Female Society for Birmingham, West-Bromwich, &c. in England, we are indebted for much recent information, relative to the proceedings of the Ladies of that country, in this great and important work.

A considerable number of pamphlets, tracts, engravings, &c. directed to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, were received just as this number was going to Press. The latest Reports of the Female Societies are embraced in this collection. We shall notice them more particularly in our next publication. The engraving, accompanying this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, is attached to the Reports of the aforesaid Society for Birmingham, &c. The Secretary of that Association will please accept our thanks for her valuable presents: and in return therefor, we promise to make the best use of them that may be in our power.

WOMAN.

The efficacy of female aid, in advancing the interests of emancipation, has been put to the trial and fairly tested; and undeniable evidence of its usefulness has been afforded in the success of the Anti-Slavery Association of which we have spoken in another part of our columns. Will the ladies of our other cities of the Union hesitate to follow so encouraging an example? We hope not. We look forward with a cheering anticipation to the time when such societies shall be

multiplied in every quarter of our country—not only in the free states, but in the very heart of slavery itself. We look forward to the time when indifference on this subject shall almost be considered as a reproach to the principles of an American woman—when but one spirit shall prevail throughout our sex, and all shall unite in action and sentiment to advance this cause of righteousness. If the exertions of a few females have been capable of producing so much effect, what may not be expected from the united energies of thousands? Were we to borrow a simile from a subject that has of late occupied much of the public attention, we might say that the system of Free Labor is a “rail-way” by which our slaves may pass rapidly and securely from bondage to freedom. But it is one which requires no stupendous capital, no legislative enactments, to sanction its commencement—it has been begun by individual enterprise; it may be built up by Women.

To assist in the work of emancipation we consider not only the privilege, but the duty, of each of our sex. It has been asked of us, why, if slavery is such miserable wickedness, does the Almighty through a long lapse of years continue to suffer the oppression of the innocent? One effort of His will would be sufficient to crush a system against which all our exertions are apparently directed in vain—God, not man, must be the conqueror of this injustice. We will answer to this in the words of the intelligent writer from whose “Letters on Colonial Slavery” we have already extracted so liberally.

“Though it be true, that ‘the good that is done in the earth, the Lord doeth it’—He doeth it nevertheless through human instrumentality,—by enlightening the understanding and influencing the will of his intelligent creatures.”—And again.—“We are invited by every argument which can convince, every motive which can persuade, every consideration which can stimulate the exertion of moral agents, accountable creatures—Christians, most especially,—but we are not forced upon the work. We may know our obligations, and feel their weight—yet refuse to discharge them,—but it is at our peril that we do so.”

Shall we hear of female associations for erecting proud monuments to the memory of departed heroes, while, at the same moment, thousands and tens of thousands of our own sex are bowed down, unpitied, to the lowest depth of degradation? Shall the cry of these poor perishing ones of our flock go up to heaven uncared for and unregarded? Shall American women combine to rear structures of military glory to the manes of those who died for liberty, in the very land where their own sisters are debased, igno-

rant, trampled upon and prostrated soul and body before the terrible altars of the Moloch of slavery? Would to heaven that we could impart to other hearts the feelings with which our own is at this moment oppressed!—that a flood of eloquence might gush from our pen, touching them with flame like a living coal from God’s own altar! There are moments when we feel as though we could freely die to know that this soul-destroying, unnatural indifference to the fate of their African brethren, had forever passed from the spirits of our sex.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

HEAVEN HELP YE.

Heaven help ye, lorn ones! bending
Neath your weary life of pain,
Tears of ceaseless anguish blending
With the bitter cup ye drain;
Yet think not your prayers ascending
Shall forever rise in vain!

Hearts there are, of human feeling,
That have felt your cry of woe,
Bear awhile! and soon revealing
Brighter prospects with its glow,
Light across your night-clouds stealing,
Hours of freedom yet may show.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SPRING FLOWERS.

“The wise
Read nature like the manuscript of Heaven,
And call the flowers its poetry.”

I love the fair and beautiful blossoms,
That are scattered so abundantly in the
spring season over the field, and by the
quiet edges of the wood, or when their
sunny petals tremble to the pleasant mur-
muring of the streams, that go by like
merchants trafficking their melody for
gales of odour. I would not gather the first
flowers that lift up their delicate heads
to meet me in my spring path;—it seems
to me almost as if they were gifted with
a feeling, and a perception of the loveli-
ness of nature, and I cannot carelessly
pluck them from their frail stems and
throw them aside to their early wither-
ing—’tis like defacing the pages of a fa-
vorite book of poetry, round which the
spirit of the bard seems hovering still in
a preserving watchfulness.

Beautiful flowers! they are the “jew-
elry” of spring, and bravely do they de-
corate her laughing brow, gladdening all
hearts with her exceeding loveliness.
But no! there are some hearts for whom
her voice has no cadences of joy, her
beauty no power to hasten the lagging

pulses. How can the glorious spring speak rejoicingly to those over whose degraded brows the free gales seem to breath revilings, instead of peacefulness and high thoughts, and for whose ears the gush of melody seems only to syllable one reproachful name? Gladness and beauty are not for the sympathies of the wretched, and far better than the brightness of the vernal sunshine does the dreariness of winter harmonize with the desolate spirit of the slave.

Oh that the warm breathings of universal love might drive out from the bosoms of men, the cold unfeeling winter of indifference, with which they have so long regarded the sufferings of their oppressed brethren! that the beautiful blossoms of christian compassion and holy benevolence, springing up in their hearts, might shed over them the fragrance of the memory of good deeds! Then should the benediction of those that were ready to perish, come upon them like the blessing of "the early and the latter rain," and the grateful tears of the forlorn ones rest on them as a fertilizing dew, clothing them with happiness like a thick mantle of summer verdure.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

CHRISTIAN LOVE.

Oh Father, when the soften'd heart
Is lifted up in prayer to thee,
When earthly thoughts awhile depart,
And leave the mounting spirit free—
Then teach us that our love, like thine,
O'er all the realms of earth should flow,
A shoreless stream, a flood divine,
To bathe and heal the heart of woe.

Then Afric's Son shall hear no more
The tyrant's, in the christian's name,
Nor tears of wasting anguish pour,
Unpitied o'er his life of shame.
But taught to love thee, by the love
That bids his long-worn fetters break,
He too shall lift his soul above,
And serve thee for thy master's sake.

AGNES.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE DYING SLAVE.

"I was in the right mood for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination."

He lay on a straw couch, with his face half turned towards the sinking sun. The skin was drawn tightly over his forehead, as though it was parched and shrunk by extreme age; but the restless and uneasy wanderings of his eye told that he still claimed some companionship with earthly feelings.

He was a slave; and for more than an hundred years he had gone forth to the daily toil of a bondman. It was said that in the "father land," from which he had been torn by unprincipled violence, he had been a prince among his people. In the first days of his slavery, he had been fierce and ungovernable, nor could his haughty spirit ever be tamed into subjection until it had been subdued by gratitude. The father of his present master had in his childhood, by interfering to save him from punishment, received on his own body the blows intended for the slave; and from that moment he became to his youthful master a devoted servant. The child had grown up to manhood, flourished throughout his term of years, and faded away into the grave, but still the aged Afric lingered upon the earth; and it was for the son of that man that he now waited, and, to use his own expression, "held back his breath," until he should behold him.

At length the light of the low cabin door was darkened, as the master stooped his tall form to enter the dwelling of his slave. I have come, said he, as he approached, what would you with me?

The negro raised himself up with a sudden energy, and stretched out his withered hand. Have I not borne you in my arms in your helpless infancy, said he, and should I not now once more behold you before I die? Heed me, master! ere yon sun shall set, the last breath will have passed my lips—its beams are fast growing more aslant and yellower—tell me, before I die, if I have not served you faithfully?

You have!

I have been honest and true—I have never spoken to you a falsehood—I have never deserved the lash?

To my knowledge, never! said his master.

Then there is but one more boon that I would crave of you;—I am going home, —to revisit the scenes of my youth—to mingle with the spirits of my friends! Suffer me not to return to them a slave! My fathers were proud chieftains among their native wilds—they sought out the lion in the midst of his secret recesses—they subdued the strength of the savage tiger—they were conquerors in battle—they never bowed to man—they would spurn a bondman from their halls! Oh tell me, exclaimed he, seizing his master's hand in the rising excitement of his feel-

ings;—oh tell, me, while I may yet hear the sound, that I am once more free!

Your wish is granted, said his master; you are a freeman.

A freeman! repeated the negro, slowly sinking back upon his couch, and clasp- ing his hands above his head with all his remaining energy—write it for me, master!

The gentleman tore a leaf from his pocket book, and pencilling a hasty cer- tificate of his freedom, handed it to the slave. The old man lifted up his head once more as he received it, and the last ray of sunlight streamed across his coun- tenance, as with a strange smile he gazed upon the paper; then falling suddenly back, he once more repeated the name of freedom, and expired.

ELA.

Department Français.

LOUISIANE.

Du "Libéral," 19 Mars.

Les amis de l'ignorance, des préjugés et de l'oppression, croient avoir remporté sur nous une victoire signalée. "Le bill supprimant ce journal séditionnel (le Libéral) a passé." Mais ils se sont trompés. La publication du Libéral ne sera point arrêtée, au contraire, tenant d'une main la sacrée constitution qui déclare la presse libre, de l'autre le miroir de la vérité et la balance de la justice: nous continuerons à démasquer l'hypocrisie et à défendre les droits de l'homme. Les lois de la Louisiane ne seront courroucées. Elle s'élèveront pour flétrir comme criminel et traite celui qui venge les malheureux qu'elles ont opprimés. Mais en dépit d'elle, nous continuons nos travaux, nous déchirerons le bandeau de l'erreur et nous briserons les chaînes de l'oppression. Notre avocat général, les juges de nos cours, ont juré de soutenir la charte de nos droits. Nous sommes certains qu'ils garderont leurs serments assuré de leur protection; nous dirons hardiment ce que nous pensons. Nous montrons à ceux qui nous ont pas suivre notre exemple, combien leur crainte est vaine. Nous avons les sentiments d'un véritable Américain et nous connaissons nos droits. Nous savons qu'il n'est pas de puissance qui nous les puisse ravir. Plus ils feront d'efforts pour nous forcer à plier sous leur despotisme, plus nous opposerons des résistances et jusqu'à notre dernier soupir nous braverons la tyrannie et l'oppression.

CONSTITUTION DES ETATS UNIS.

Art. 1er. des Amendements.

Le Congrès n'aura pas le droit de faire aucune loi pour abréger la liberté de la parole ou de la presse, &c.

CONSTITUTION DE L'ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE.

Art. 6, v. 21.

La presse sera libre à tous ceux qui entre- prendront d'examiner les procédures de la légis- lature ou aucune branche du gouvernement; et

aucune loi sera jamais faite pour abréger ses droits, &c.

LOI FAITE PAR LA LEGISLATURE DE L'ETAT DE LA LOUISIANE.

ACTE pour punir les crimes y mentionnés et pour d'autres objets.

Sect. 1ère. Il est décrété, &c. Que quiconque écrira, imprimera, publiera, ou répandra toute pièce ayant une tendance à produire du mécon- tentement parmi la population de couleur libre, ou de l'insubordination parmi les esclaves de cet Etat, sera sur conviction du fait, pardevant toute cour de juridiction compétente condamné à l'emprisonnement aux travaux forcés pour la vie ou à la peine de mort, à la discrétion de la cour!!!!

Sect. 2. Il est de plus décrété, Que quiconque se servira d'expressions dans un discours public prononcé au barreau, au banc des juges, au théâ- tre, en chaire, ou dans tout lien quelconque; qui- conque se servira d'expressions dans des conver- sations ou des discours particuliers, ou fera usage de signes ou fera des actions ayant une tendance à produire du mécontentement parmi la population de couleur libre ou à exciter l'in- subordination parmi les esclaves de cet Etat; quiconque donnera sciemment la main à apporter dans cet état aucun papier, brochure ou livre ayant la même tendance que dessus, sera, sur conviction, pardevant toute cour de juridiction compétente, condamné; à l'emprisonnement aux travaux forcés pour un terme qui ne sera pas moindre de trois ans et qui n'excèdera pas vingt un ans, ou à la peine de mort à la discrétion de la cour!!!!

Sect. 3. Il est de plus décrété, Que seront considérées comme illégales toutes réunions de nègres; mulâtres ou autres personnes de couleur libres dans les temples, les écoles ou autres lieux pour y apprendre à lire ou à écrire: Et les per- sonnes qui se réuniront ainsi; sur conviction du fait, pardevant toute cour de juridiction com- pétente, seront emprisonnées pour un terme qui ne sera pas moindre d'un mois et qui n'excèdera pas douze mois, à la discrétion de la cour!!!!

Sect. 4. Il est de plus décrété, Que toute per- sonne dans cet état qui enseignera, permettra qu'on enseigne ou fera enseigner à lire ou à écrire à un esclave quelconque, sera, sur con- viction du fait, pardevant toute cour de juridic- tion compétente, condamné à un emprisonnement qui ne sera pas moindre d'un mois et n'excèdera pas douze mois!!!!

Sect. 5. Il est de plus décrété, Qu'il sera du devoir de l'avocat général et des divers avocats de district de cet état, de poursuivre de tout leurs moyens toute violation de cet acte, l'ors- qu'ils auront eu connaissance personnelle ou qu'ils auront été informés par une autre source que le présent acte a été violé. Et dans le cas où le dit avocat général et les avocats de dis- tricts ou l'un d'eux, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, négligerait ou refuserait de poursuivre la personne qui aurait ainsi enfreint cette loi, ils encourront, sur preuve du fait, la peine de la destitution!!!!

Sect. 6. Et il est de plus décrété, Qu'il sera du devoir des juges de cet état ayant juridiction criminelle, à chaque terme de leurs cours res- pectives, de rappeler aux grands jurés les dispositions du présent acte!!!!

23 Mars.

Nous avons lu la publication officielle de l'acte intitulé: "acte pour empêcher l'introduction des personnes de couleur libres dans cet état, et pour d'autres objets." Il est trop long pour que nous puissions le publier, nous en donnons l'extrait sui vant.

1. Toute personne de couleur libre, qui sera rentrée dans cet état depuis 1825, sera forcée d'en sortir.

2. Aucune personne, de couleur libre, ne pourra à l'avenir si introduire dans cet état sous aucun prétexte quelconque.

3. Le blanc qui aura fait circuler des écrits tendant à troubler le repos public, ou censurant les actes de la législature concernant les esclaves ou les personnes de couleur libres, sera puni rigoureusement.

4. L'emancipation des esclaves est soumise à quantité de formalités.

Tous les noirs, griffés et mûlatres au premier degré, libérés, sont obligés de se faire enregistrer au bureau du maire, à la Nollé. Orleans, ou chez les juges de parolaise dans les autres parties de l'état.

Nous voyons avec joie, que la partie du bill tendant à empêcher l'instruction des personnes de couleur, a été rejeté.

24 Mars.

Mr. L'editeur.

Dans votre article éditorial de mercredi dernier après avoir démontré d'une manière vraiment républicaine, que, nos représentans au mépris de notre constitution se permettaient des abus intolérables. Vous ajoutez que, si les hommes de couleur ne quittaient point ce pays le plutôt qu'il leur serait possible, ils ne possèdent pas ce noble enthousiasme que vous croyez attachée à leur caractère et que Jackson a loué d'une manière si énergique.

J'ose espérer Mr. que vous ne serez pas trompé dans votre attente. Tout fait croire qu'ils justifieront la bonne opinion que vous avez d'eux. Car déjà un grand nombre, se dispose à quitter le pays. Dans peu de temps la Louisiane sera contente et satisfaite; cette classe MEPRISE'Z! DETESTE'Z! ET OPPRIME'Z! ne fatiguera plus son sol:

Ils fuiront ces nouvelles lois plus arbitraires les unes que les autres, et qui sont autant de preux tendant à dévoiler le despotisme de nos législateurs.

Grand Dieu! qu'on-t-ils donc fait pour les assujétir à des lois si tyranniques? quels sont les crimes dont ils se sont rendus coupables? ne se sont ils pas toujours montrés soumis à la constitution de notre pays?

Ne les voyons nous pas par leur industrie s'acquérir des propriétés? et pour jouir du fruit de leurs travaux n'est il pas de leurs intérêts de voir la Louisiane prospérer et étendre de plus en plus son fertile commerce? le mariage n'a-t-il pas fait de cette grande partie de notre population une seule et même famille? n'élèveront ils pas leurs enfans dans une morale irréprochable? et cependant avec toutes ces preuves de leur conduite en tacte, qui, devrait leur mériter notre estimés et notre reconnaissance ils se voyent persécutés (quoi que dans un pays libre) plus qu'ils ne seraient dans une monarchie gouvernée par un des descendant de Tarquin, Néron, ou Caligula.

Sans doute des hommes laborieux et aussi intelligens que ceux là, ne seraient pas repoussés dans toutes les parties de la confédération américhine. Car Dieu merci il existe dans notre patrie des hommes qui n'ont pas encore foulé aux pieds le chef d'œuvre des apôtres de notre Liberté. Mais non, en quittant les rives du Mississippi ils sortent totalement de l'union.

Et comme les pros crits de Sylla ils iront chercher un azile chez quelques peuples étranger, qui, avec plus de jugement que nous, sauront tirer un parti très avantageux de la mauvaise politique de notre législature. JUSTICE.

BLACK LIST.

The *Rutherfordton (N. C.) Spectator*, of March 12, gives the details of a shocking murder, perpetrated by several slaves. It was understood they had been hired to perform the dreadful deed, by the son of the deceased, to prevent him from altering his will, by which the legacy of this son was to be reduced! The monster was imprisoned, to await his trial. But it is not probable that he will be convicted, for want of the evidence of *white persons*. Three of the slaves were hung.—Was there ever a more horrible state of society than that in which such bellish crimes can be perpetrated with impunity?

The *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter* states that the colonists of Barbadoes and Trinidad have adopted a system of "*internal*," or "*domestic slave-trade*," similar to that pursued and protected by the people and the government of this country. It does not appear to be well relished by our English philanthropists. They cannot, for the lives of them, perceive any difference, in principle, between that and the *African Soul-Traffic*. These *monarchists* are not so sharp-sighted as our good "*republicans*" of the United States.

Captain Morris, of the Quebec Trader, states that while recently at Sierra Leone, the British cruisers brought in for adjudication six Spanish vessels full of

slaves. Is this the evidence of the abolition of that accursed traffic!

A gentleman, in high official station in one of the *Cape-de-Verd Islands*, gives the particulars of several instances of slave trading and piracy. He also furnishes the following:—

List of Spanish Slave vessels entered and cleared at the Port of St. Jago, (Cape de Verd Islands,) since July 21, 1829:—

Sch'r Armistade, 188 tons, 25 men—1 gun on a pivot.

Do. (name not known) about 250 tons, 75 men. Brig (hermaphrodite) *Manganaria*, 160 tons or thereabouts, 40 odd men—3 guns, one of which on a pivot.

Sch'r (name not known) 225 tons, 50 men—8 guns.

Do. *Primeira Galega*,

Do. *Barbarini*,

Do. *Vengador*,

Do. *N. S. das Neves*,

Particulars not been ascertained.

Together with an abundance of others that have touched here under sail. Within the 7 months there have *probably* been among these Islands, to my knowledge, 20 to 24.

Selections, Extracts, &c.

CULTIVATION OF THE SUGAR CANE.

From the Southern Agriculturalist.

On the Management of the Butler Estate, and the Cultivation of the Sugar Cane, by R. King, Jr. addressed to William Washington, Esq.

Hampton, (near Darien,) 13th Sept. 1828.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter on the 29th August, came to hand on the 8th inst. Nothing would afford me more satisfaction than to impart the knowledge I possess of Southern Agriculture and plantation economy, if such would benefit others.

We are dependent on each other, and each should contribute his mite. Therefore, I shall comply with your request as minutely as possible.

The reputed good condition of the Butler estate, has been the work of time, and a diligent attention to the interest of said estate, and the comfort and happiness of the slaves on it.

To Mr. R. King, sen. more is due than to myself. In 1802, he assumed the management. The gang was a fine one, but was very disorderly, which invariably is the case when there is a frequent change of managers. Rules and regulations were established, (I may say laws,) a few forcible examples made, after a reg-

ular trial, in which every degree of justice was exhibited, was the first step. But the grand point was to suppress the brutality and licentiousness practised by the principal men on it—(say the drivers and tradesmen.) More punishment is inflicted on every plantation by the men in power, from private pique, than from a neglect of duty. This I assert as a fact; I have detected it often. No person of my age knows more the nature of these persons than myself; since childhood I have been on this place, and from the age of eighteen to this time, have had the active management; therefore I speak with confidence. They have a perfect knowledge of right and wrong. When an equitable distribution of rewards and punishments is observed, in a short time they will conform to almost every rule that is laid down.

The owner or overseer knows, that with a given number of hands, such a portion of work is to be done. The driver, to screen favourites, or apply their time to his own purposes, imposes a heavy task on some. Should they murmur, an opportunity is taken, months after, to punish those unfortunate fellows for not doing their own and others' tasks. Should they not come at the immediate offenders, it will descend on the nearest kindred. As an evidence of the various opportunities that a brutal driver has to gratify his revenge, (the predominant principles of the humane race,) let any planter go into his field, and in any negro's task, he can find apparently just grounds for punishment. To prevent this abuse, no driver in the field is allowed to inflict punishment, until after a regular trial. When I pass sentence myself, various modes of punishment are adopted; the lash least of all. Digging stumps, or cleaning away trash about the settlements, in their own time; but the most severe is, confinement at home six or twelve months, or longer. No intercourse is allowed with other plantations. A certain number are allowed to go to town on Sundays, to dispose of eggs, poultry, cooper's ware, canoes, &c. but must be home by 12 o'clock, unless by special permit. Any one returning intoxicated, (a rare instance,) goes into stocks, and is not allowed to leave home for twelve months.

An order from a driver is to be as implicitly obeyed as if it came from myself; nor do I counteract the execution, (un-

less directly injurious,) but direct his immediate attention to it. It would be endless for me to superintend the drivers and field hands too, and would of course make them useless. The lash is, unfortunately, too much used; every mode of punishment should be devised in preference to that, and when used, never to lacerate: all young persons will offend. A negro at twenty five years old, who finds he has the mark of a rogue inflicted when a boy, (even if disposed to be orderly,) has very little or no inducement to be otherwise. Every means are used to encourage them, and impress on their minds the advantage of holding property, and the disgrace attached to idleness. Surely, if industrious for themselves, they will be so for their masters, and no negro, with a well stocked poultry house, a small crop advancing, a canoe partly finished, or a few tubs unsold, all of which he calculates soon to enjoy, will ever run away. In ten years I have lost, by absconding, but forty-seven days, out of nearly six hundred negroes. Any negro leaving the plantation, or field, to complain to me, is registered and treated as such.—Many may think that they lose time, when negroes can work for themselves. It is the reverse on all plantations under good regulations—time is absolutely gained to the master. An indolent negro is most always sick; and unless he is well enough to work for himself; and when the master's task is done, he is in mischief, unless occupied for himself. And another evidence arising from the encouragement of industry, I make on this estate as good crops as most of my neighbours; plant as much to the hand, do as much plantation work, and very often get clear of a crop earlier than many where these encouragements are not held out. I have no before-day work, only as punishments; every hand must be at his work by daylight. The task giving are calculated to require so much labour; It is as easy to cut three tasks of rice, as it is to bind two, or to bring two home. It is easier to ditch eight hundred cubic feet of marsh, than four hundred feet of rooty river swamp. There are many regulations on a plantation that must be left discretionary with the manager. In harvesting a crop of rice, some acres are heavier, or further off than others; all these considered, make a wide difference; by giving a far and a near task to bring in, or putting them in gangs, the burthen is

borne equally, and all come home at once. Frequently (always I can say,) by Friday night, I have nearly as much rice in, as if the regular task during the week had been given. There may be fifteen or twenty acres left: say, bring it in, the balance of the week is yours. By 10 to 12 o'clock, all snug, and ten to fifteen acres extra got in.

By this mode I not only gain time, but afford them some also. A man, white or black, that knows such will be the result, will seldom deviate from the right course.

All these things are not to be slipped into at once; it has been the work of nearly twenty-seven years, and I find many things yet to correct. With regard to feeling, they have plenty of the best corn, well ground by water and animal power, with a portion of fish, (No. 3 mackerel,) beef, pork and molasses, and when much exposed, a little rum. To each gang there is a cook, who carefully prepares two meals per day. The very grinding and cooking for them affords the time that they apply to their own purposes: if their provisions was given unground, many would trade if off, or be too lazy to cook it. Any one that has spent a night on a plantation where the negroes grind their own corn, must recollect the horrible sound of a *hand-mill, all night*. It is this that wears them down. He goes to the mill; it is occupied; he must wait until the first has done, and so on. Some are at it all night; their natural rest is destroyed. Many masters think they give provisions and clothing in abundance; but unless they use means to have these properly prepared, half the benefit is lost. Another great advantage in grinding and cooking for them is, that the little negroes are sure to get enough to eat. On this estate there are two hundred and thirty-eight negroes, from fifteen years down, and every one knows that they do not increase in proportion in a large gang, as in a small one, with the same attention. I cannot exemplify in too strong terms, the great advantage resulting from properly preparing the food for negroes.—They will object to it at first; but no people are more easily convinced of any thing tending to their comfort than they are. In fact, a master does not discharge his duty to himself, unless he will adopt every means to promote his interest and their welfare. Again, many will say it takes too many to wait on the others.

An old woman for a cook, who will raise one little negro extra, which will certainly pay her wages, besides the very great comfort it will afford the others; a machine that will not cost in twenty years more than \$15 per annum; a little boy to drive an old horse two days in the week, and an old man, (or even the overseer on a place of thirty hands,) to act as commissary in issuing the provisions, I am sure, well regulated, will add 25 per cent. to the owner, including gain in negroes, comfort to them, and to their master's feelings. During the summer, little negroes should have an extra mess. I find at Butler's island, where there are about one hundred and fourteen little negroes, that it costs less than two cents each per week, in giving them a feed of oca soup, with pork, or a little molasses or hominy, or small rice. The great advantage is, that there is not a *dirt-eater* among them—an incurable propensity, produced from a morbid state of the stomach, arising from the want of a proper quantity of wholesome food, and at a proper time.

I have invariably found that women, that had been accustomed to waiting in the houses of white persons, have the largest and finest families of children, even after going into the field. I believe it arises from this circumstance, that they had contracted a habit of cleanliness, and of preparing their food properly. You on looking round, will find this the case. An hospital should be on each plantation, with proper nurses and apartments for lying-in women, for the men, and for a nursery; when any enter, not to leave the house until discharged. I have found physicians of little service, except in surgical cases. An intelligent woman will in a short time learn the use of medicine. The labour of pregnant women is reduced one half, and they are put to work in dry situations.

There are some planters that employ overseers at low wages, perhaps more destitute of principle than the blacks, and do them more harm than the owners good. Others, without humanity, grind out good crops, and in a few years break down the gang.—Slave owners cannot be too particular to whom they entrust the health (I may say life) and morals of what may justly be termed the *sinews* of an estate. A master, or an *overseer*, should be the kind friend and

monitor to the slave, not the oppressor.

I notice in the 9th number of the *Agriculturist*, that a correspondent recommends an impenetrable fence, protected by dogs, to prevent thefts.

I have a mode, I think, preferable. I allow all to plant a small piece (oblige some) for themselves; if one sheaf is taken from me, I take three from them; if from each other, I seize all they have; if not enough, I take the next crop. I purchase what crop they have to spare, and hope I have made them happier at home than any where else.

I have *written much about little*, and should you be able to pick out any thing useful, I shall be pleased. It will afford me pleasure, at any time, to reply to your communications.

I am, dear sir, your most obed't

R. KING, JR.

LOUISIANA.

The blow has been struck! and the free colored people, or a considerable portion of them, must leave the State. Where, it may be asked, will they go?—I answer, to *Hayti*, or *Jamaica*, where they will find brethren and protectors, and even many kindred connexions.

The following extracts from the New-Orleans "*Liberalist*," will shew to what *despotic* lengths the Legislature of that State is willing to go, in oppressing the coloured race. *Ed. G. U. Eman.*

We have seen an *official* publication of the act entitled: "An act to prevent free colored persons from entering this state, and for other purposes." It is too long to admit of publication in our paper. The following is a summary of the principal enactments.

1. All free colored persons who shall have entered the state since 1825, are forced to leave it.

2. No free colored person shall be hereafter permitted to enter this state, under any circumstances whatever.

3. No white person is permitted to circulate any writing or print, with the intention to disturb the public peace, or censuring the acts of the legislature!! with regard to the slaves or free people of color, under severe penalties.

4. The emancipation of slaves is subjected to many formalities.

5. All FREE NEGROES, GRIFFS, and MULATTOES IN THE FIRST DEGREE, are obliged to have their names enregistered at the office of the mayor in New Orleans, or the parish judges in the other parts of the State.

We are glad to see that the part of the bill which proposed to prevent all free colored persons from learning to read, was rejected.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

tional subscribers, and forwarding their payments, since the change from a weekly to a monthly publication: and I sincerely hope that others will speedily follow the example. I cannot now leave home for
haps, if any, has this spirit manifested itself more fully, than in the numerous attempts to intimidate the editors, and put down the establishment, of the "GENERA-
OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." Not con-



Benjamin Lay

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UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—Dec. Ind. U. S.

No. 3. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JUNE, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 255. VOL. XI.]

REMOVAL.

The office of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is removed to No. 49, Sharp Street—Second door South of Pratt Street. Subscriptions, Communications, &c. will be received both at the office, and at No. 135, Market Street.

The editor of this work has again partially fitted up a Printing Office, in order that the publication may be once more entirely under his own controul. It is expected that the arrangements will be completed in a short time, when it shall be seen whether the abominations of the slave system, and the corruption of its guilty abettors, are not to be properly investigated and exposed. But, in order to effect this desirable object, punctuality in paying up for present subscriptions, as well as more activity in procuring new ones, is absolutely necessary, on the part of the patrons and friends of the work. It would be no difficult matter, one would suppose for those who wish for its success, to procure some further patronage, in almost every part of the country.

I acknowledge, with pleasure, that a few of our friends at a distance have generously used their influence in procuring additional subscribers, and forwarding their payments, since the change from a weekly to a monthly publication: and I sincerely hope that others will speedily follow the example. I cannot now leave home for

that purpose myself. The terms of publication, &c. may be seen on the last page of the cover. New subscribers will be supplied from the commencement of the present volume.

THE LIBEL SUIT—AGAIN.

Attempts have been made in various places, and at different times, by some of the high professing "republicans" of this nation, to abridge the freedom of the Press, when it has clashed with what they conceived to be their private interests. This Argus-eyed guardian of the "rights of man" has ever been a thorn in the sides of the corrupt and the tyrannical. We have heard much of the arbitrary proceedings against it, by European despots and oligarchs; but in no country on the globe is such a disposition more completely exemplified than here. With all their vain-boasting, and the egotistical proclamation of their love of liberty, many of the people of this Republic are at heart disposed to be as self-adulatory and oppressive as any that exist. And such are ever desirous to impose curbs, restraints, and gags upon those publishers of periodicals, &c. who stand ready to expose their aristocratic machinations. But in few instances, perhaps, if any, has this spirit manifested itself more fully, than in the numerous attempts to intimidate the editors, and put down the establishment, of the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*." Not con-

tent with denunciations, threats, and slanders, communicated publicly and privately, through the medium of newspapers, anonymous communications, and verbal addresses, its enemies have resorted to personal abuse, and legal persecution. I am not about to give a detailed statement of their movements, at this moment; though I may, perhaps, do it at some future period. My object, at present, is to furnish the reader with a few more items of information respecting the famous Libel Suit, instituted against myself and late partner, by Francis Todd.

The public has been made acquainted with the circumstances of Garrison's conviction, in this case, and subsequent imprisonment. The period of his incarceration was *forty-nine days*, and the cost, altogether, upwards of one hundred dollars. A *civil suit*, for "damage" done to the "character" of the plaintiff, (not the *damage* incurred by the *guilt* in which he was involved, but that resulting from the *exposure of it*;) is also pending against him, as well as myself, and is expected to be tried early in next month.

It will be recollected that the suit for libel, aforesaid, was originally brought against both myself and partner:—but as I was absent at the time, the proceedings were directed against him alone. Before he was convicted I returned home, and did not leave this city again for about three weeks. The Court knew of this, but did not then offer to arrest me. I left home again for a short period: and when I returned the second time, I found Garrison in prison. Still no attempts were made to proceed against me, for nearly two weeks after this period. It is a trite maxim, however, that "*Justice is slow, but sure.*" And my old friend, *Judge Brice*, at length determined to exemplify the truth of it in my case. The Deputy Sheriff was despatched to take peaceable or forcible possession of my mortal part, and have it, *without delay, before his Honor*. I was not *in my office, and the bailiff went as he*

came. In a few hours after, he called again, but I was yet away. These circumstances were made known to me in the evening; and the next morning, after arranging my business. I went to the Sheriff and demanded the object of his deputy's mission. He informed me that the Court would explain the matter; and, forthwith, I placed myself before that august tribunal. The Honorable Judge Brice had not made his appearance.—Probably he was yet in his parlour, adjusting his wig, as it was rather early for gentlemen of dignity to shew themselves abroad! The business was arranged without him. I gave bail for my appearance at the June Term of our City Court, and it is expected that my trial will come on some time in the present month.

But I wish it understood, that I am by no means disheartened. Notwithstanding all that has been said and done;—notwithstanding the threatening aspect of the times—the portentous appearance of the gathering storm—my head is bared to its pitiless peltings.—My eye winks not at its fiercest lightnings. The awe-inspiring thunders may roll around; the electric fire may stream from every cloud; the demon of the storm may hurl his death-doing bolts;—yet, if I be not stricken lifeless to the earth, *my humble labors shall not cease.*

OUR JURORS.

Some curiosity having been excited among our friends, to know who were the jurors that found a bill of indictment against us, and finally gave a verdict of "*guilty*" in the criminal Court, against W. L. Garrison, I have taken the pains to procure their names from the Court Records. They are as follows:—

Grand Jury.

Hugh W. Evans; (Foreman;) James Piper; James B. Stansbury; John H. Barney; Jacob Daley; Joseph Shane; Joseph K. Stapleton; William Chalmers; Philip Littig; Rezin White; Daniel Conn; James

P. Heath; Leonard Pouder; Arthur Mitchell; Joseph Jamieson; Philip Uhler; John King; Harmanus Alricks; James Hindes; James R. Williams; Daniel Metzger.

Petit Jury.

Benjamin Hutchins; Henry Dukehart; SAMUEL WILSON; Joseph T. Forde; Richard Bradshaw; Samuel Jarrett; James C. Magauran; William S. Packer; Thomas E. Palmer; George Waggoner; Townsend Scott; Thomas Bond.

It will be understood by the reader, that in the Grand Jury a *majority* may decide the questions before it.—But the decisions of the Petit Jury must be with *unanimous* concurrence. There are a few names among the last mentioned, that I was not a little surprised to see there. They, no doubt, acted *conscientiously*; and if so, their *reflections* will be calm. I hope they will not censure me for thus making them known; for, let the consequence be what it may, there shall be nothing *concealed* in this matter, if I can prevent it.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

It is gratifying to perceive, that many of our contemporaries are sensible of the apparently unwarrantable attempt to restrain the liberty of the Press, in the prosecution now pending against the editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation and his late partner. More than an hundred voices have been raised—more than an hundred periodical works have denounced (many of them in no very measured terms) this attack upon what we have ever considered our proper editorial privileges. Upon a future occasion, when I may not be subject to the imputation of a wish to forestall public opinion, in my own case, I shall give the reader a view of the sentiments expressed by some of them, in their own words.

Gentlemen who feel a propensity to muzzle the editorial fraternity, will learn that, in attempting it, they are making a *demonstration* upon a *Hornet's* nest,

and if they persist, it is natural for them to *get stung* a little. I would rather be arraigned before an hundred Judge Brice's, and all the juries that were ever empannelled by his order, than to be hauled up before the bar of an indignant *Court of Editors*! The first may empale the body, and *professional* censors may rouse the irritable feelings—but the last pierce the very soul with the javelin of burning reproof, and leave the wretch to agonize with the smart of sore condemnation, applied with the irresistible force of sincerity.

THE BALTIMORE MINERVA.

I am astonished at the remarks of the editor of the Minerva, respecting the imprisonment of W. L. Garrison. He asserted, lately, that he was "a voluntary inmate of the jail!" and he even repeats the assertion, after Garrison's explicit denial of it. But let us see how he makes out his case. He says: "the fifty dollars might easily have been raised for him." Surely!—And is this sufficient ground for so grave a charge, friend Hewitt—a charge, *de facto*, that he merely wished to excite the sympathy of his friends; by unnecessarily submitting to imprisonment? Possibly the money might have been raised for him, if any one had offered to do it.—But was this offer made? If so, who did it? I do not believe that it was done, until he had lain in prison more than six weeks, and until the benevolent Arthur Tappan, of New York, ordered a draft for the purpose. True, some persons had spoken about it—as Peter Pin-dar says, "about it Goddess, and about it!"—but the money was not at Garrison's command. How, therefore, can Mr. Hewitt say the imprisonment was voluntary? How does he know that the money could have been procured, before it was? He thinks that it might have been done, and therefore the imprisonment was voluntary!!

Let us place the subject in a clearer light.—A charge is made, of a criminal

nature—all the formality of trial and sentence is strictly observed by Court and Juries—the person implicated is placed in the custody of the Sheriff, to be handed over to the Jailor.—And yet, after all this, his imprisonment is “voluntary,” on his part, if he does not condescend to employ some person to go a begging for him, among his friends!!! Is not such reasoning absurd?—Was ever such logic tolerated?

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

If our persecutors think to break down our spirits, by their vile proceedings, they will, ere long, find that they have “reckoned without their host.” Thus much I can say for myself.—And the reader will incline to the belief that the same remark will apply to my friend Garrison, after perusing the following, which he pencilled on the wall of his prison, the next morning after his incarceration. While immured within those gloomy walls, he wrote many other articles, equally lively and elegant.

SONNET.

High walls, and huge, the body may confine,
And iron grates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways:
Yet scorns th' immortal mind this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell enclose:
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And in a flash from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fire-side tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours.
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And in its watches wearies every star!

W. L. G.

THAT'S NOBLE!

The following appeared as a Communication in the *United States Gazette*, of a recent date. The Philadelphians have some good ideas relative to Colonization.—But, Query?—Would not a little more pecuniary aid set other measures of importance also on foot? Suppose a few thousand dollars were appropriated to the purchase and cultivation, by free labour, of the land belonging to Gen.

Lafayette, in Florida?—Would it not have more good effect (in case of judicious management) than the colonizing of 50,000 colored persons in Africa? I do not wish to discourage the latter;—but I should be much pleased to learn that an experiment, like the above mentioned, were to be made.

Messrs. Editors—Since the very interesting letter of Captain Sherman appeared in your laudable journal, I have had the opportunity of conversing with a member of the Colonization Committee, and am pleased to learn that they anticipate another expedition to Africa, and intend, if the requisite funds can be obtained, to despatch a ship on or about the first of Sept. with 250 manumitted slaves.

The sum of \$100, for which four fellow creatures may be relieved from bondage, and constituted members of the new republic of Liberia, is so small, that I cannot hesitate to believe 25 Philadelphians will be disposed to join in contributing that sum each, to transport 100 of the contemplated number, and thus insure the fulfilment of the committee's benevolent object. Should this hint be attended with the success I anticipate, I pledge myself to transmit to Mr. Cresson, Secretary of the Colonization Committee, the sum of \$100 towards it. Your's, G. B.

BRITISH COLONIAL REFORM.

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is indebted to some friend, unknown, for *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, of the 25th of February, last, which contains some very important information relative to measures contemplated “for improving the condition of the slaves in the colonies of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. Sunday markets are to be prohibited, and one day in each week set apart in lieu thereof. Penalties are to be inflicted for compelling slaves to work on Sunday, except in cases of absolute necessity, which are to be defined by the Governor. The use of the whip to be restricted. The marriage rite to be legalized. Slaves allowed to hold property, and capacitated to maintain law-suits in its defence. Family connexions not to

be separated, except in particular specified cases. Manumissions of slaves to be greatly facilitated. "Slaves may effect the purchase of their freedom by compulsory process." The evidence of slaves to be admitted. Slaves to be forfeited on conviction of the owners for cruelty, &c. &c.

The reformatations proposed, are numerous and important; but I have not room to notice the subject more in detail, at present.

LIBERIA.

By the arrival of the brig *Liberia*, at Philadelphia, the editor of the *Genius of the Universal Emancipation* has received a letter from *Jacob W. Prout*, of Monrovia, (formerly of Baltimore,) and also the first number of the "*Liberia Herald*," issued by J. B. Russwurm, formerly editor of "*Freedom's Journal*," of New York.

To the kindness of the writer of the above mentioned letter, I am indebted for obtaining a number of new subscribers to this work, in addition to those who formerly received it, in the Colony.

The following is an extract from the letter aforesaid. I rejoice to learn that many of the settlers are doing well.

"Our Colony is in a thriving situation. I have not the least doubt but that the expeditions of the ship *Harriet*, and the *Liberia*, will give a great spur to agriculture: as, from what I have seen of the people, I think them industrious and hard-working persons. I do not think your eyes every beheld a more beautiful view than we have at the Caldwell settlement, on that side of the Stockton River. And the settlers on the St. Paul's River are sparing no pains or labor to equal those on the Stockton. The people of Millsburg, with the exception of a very few, live altogether by their farms; and some of them send down to this place fresh beef, and vegetables of different kinds."

From the number of the "*Herald*," now before me, I here insert a paragraph of the editor's address, (not having room for the whole,) which shews that the *traffic in human blood* is still pursued with avidity on the coast. He says:—

"We are in hopes, through our columns, to bring to light many facts relative to the Slave trade. It is the general opinion in the United States and Europe, that it has nearly ceased: but would an American or European reside on

Cape Messurado, and witness the daily passage of slavers up and down the coast; and see (what many of our citizens have) hundreds of their fellow men, actually in chains, on board; he would then begin to think that the traffic was far from being discontinued. To such a pitch of audacity have many of these slavers arrived, that no merchant vessel, unless strongly armed, is secure against their piratical attacks. They have even been known to leave the Havana and other ports, for this coast, with not more than two weeks provisions on board, depending altogether upon falling in with vessels, and supplying themselves. Some governments have made the trade piracy, but of what avail are laws, which are enacted at the distance of 5000 miles, without the means of inflicting punishment? Desperadoes, like those engaged in the Slave trade, must be deterred by the certainty of punishment, or they never will desist. Colonies have been planted by the British, Portuguese, French, and Danish; but with the exception of the first, neither is strong enough to prohibit the traffic in slaves from being carried on in its neighborhood."

The "*Liberia Herald*" is printed on a medium half-sheet, and issued once a month, at \$2.00 per annum. It will, no doubt, be conducted with spirit and ability. A sample of it may be seen at the office of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

Since the foregoing was written, the second number of the *Herald* has been received at New York, and some extracts from it have appeared in our eastern prints. One, respecting the prosecution of the Slave Trade, will be found under the head of "*Black List*," in this paper.

At the request of John Andrews, the following notice is copied from the *American*, of this city, accompanied with a few introductory remarks:

He informs me that it is his particular desire to place the child, alluded to, with some genteel colored persons in Philadelphia, in order that it may be properly brought up and educated. This he stated to me, soon after his arrival in Baltimore, that it was his determination to do when he left Virginia; and I have no doubt that he is now sincere in this intention. Should this notice reach the parents of the child, it would be well for them to attend to it. James Forten, with whom the papers securing their emancipation

pation are left, as aforesaid, is a colored gentleman, of excellent character and standing, and is well known and highly respected by the citizens of Philadelphia, generally, of all classes. Any arrangement that may be made with him, relative to this matter, may be fully depended on. Andrews has recently corresponded with him, and he is willing to attend to the child, as requested.

"My servants, William and Evelina, are informed that on personal application to Mr. James Forten, Philadelphia, they will obtain their own and the little girl's free papers. They are requested, wherever they may be, to write to me immediately, directing their letters to Baltimore; as by so doing they have nothing to fear and much to gain. JOHN ANDREWS."

MANUMISSION SOCIETY OF N. CAROLINA.

The proceedings of this interesting Society, as published in the *Greensboro' Patriot*, have been received at this office. I hope to notice them hereafter in detail. The society still presses onward, faithfully and perseveringly, in the great and good work. The officers, for the ensuing two years, are: Benjamin Swaim, President; William Swaim, Secretary; Zimri Stewart, Treasurer; and William Reynolds, Robert W. Hodson, James C. Kersey, Dr. John Parker, and Aaron Stalker, Managers.

"An Association exists in Philadelphia, 'for the use of Free Cotton,' and a dry good store is opened, in which no cotton is sold that is not raised by a free laborer—where the raw material is to come from is not stated. But seriously—if the philanthropists of Philadelphia wish well to the slaves of the south, may it not be questioned whether they will be likely to ameliorate their condition, by doing any thing which may tend to injure the prosperity of the r masters."—*Fredericksburg Arena*.

It is true that such an association as that above mentioned does exist in Philadelphia;—and it is equally true that others of the same nature, and with nearly the same objects, exist both in this country and in England.—But it is not true that the adoption of such measures will "tend to injure the prosperity of" any slave-holder.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The following pithy little paragraph is from *Niles' Register*, of a recent date:—

"The numerous bills matured, concerning the District of Columbia, have all failed, except the bill concerning the Judges of the Orphans' Court, and that to amend the charter of Georgetown."

So!—nothing yet done respecting the system of slavery. The PEOPLE must see to this.

§ The editor of the "*Bucks County Intelligencer*" has made the amende honorable, very handsomely, respecting the plagiarism of his correspondent. "W" has also offered an "apology"—and so lame an apology never was before made since Adam commenced the practice of speech!—But we must not exult over him.

WANT OF ROOM!

Several very interesting communications, together with a great mass of other matter, both original and selected, lie over for insertion in future numbers. I would give a small "premium" (a large one I cannot give) for the best plan of editorial condensation! I cannot insert the tenth part of what I wish.

Biographical Sketches.

BENJAMIN LAY.

I now have the satisfaction to submit to the readers of this work, a brief notice of one of the first active and persevering laborers in the cause of African Emancipation, accompanied by a true likeness, as he appeared in his old age, when devoting his whole heart to this grand and benevolent purpose. The following extracts are taken from the biography of this singularly philanthropic and extraordinary man, written by Roberts Vaux, of Philadelphia, and published in the year 1815, by Solomon W. Conrad.

"Benjamin Lay was born at Colchester, in the county of Essex, Great Britain, Anno Domini 1677. His parents, who were members of the Society of Friends, carefully instructed him in the religious principles which they professed;

but their pecuniary resources did not enable them to be-tow upon their son more than the rudiments of learning, as taught in the lower order of English schools."

Passing over the incidents of his private life, as well as the religious controversies in which he was frequently engaged, we come to view him as the distinguished advocate of the oppressed and mal-treated slaves, in the British West Indies.

"In 1718, at the age of forty-one years, he removed from his native land to the island of Barbadoes, and there established himself in mercantile business. Here he is exhibited in a new and interesting field of action, in which he appears to have taken a bold and decided part. At this period, the African slave trade was carried on, if possible, with more intense cruelty, than at any previous or subsequent stage of its uniformly iniquitous history. The treatment to which the unhappy victims of avarice were subjected in the service of their masters, on the plantations of the West Indian islands, furnished a melancholy proof of the application of human ingenuity exerted in the contrivance of the most barbarous punishments, as well as the absence of all compassion, from the hearts of those whose mandate directed, and whose power inflicted them. Thus a witness of scenes which were calculated to excite the keenest sensibility, and awaken the tenderest sympathy of his nature, Benjamin Lay became singularly enlightened, in relation to the injustice and oppression exercised toward the people of Africa. From that moment, every faculty of his mind was exerted, to render odious, not only in the opinion of the community in which he lived, but among mankind universally, a traffic which begot so much crime—entailed so much misery—and threatened such awful retribution from the Omnipotent and regardful Parent of the whole human family.

"Justum, et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantia tyranni
Mente quatit solida." HORACE.

We now find this philanthropic advocate of the oppressed, fearlessly engaged in public and private admonition with all who were in any degree implicated in the crime of enslaving their species; and whilst he zealously pleaded with the oppressor for the extension of clemency, he was equally conspicuous for the practical benevolence which he manifested toward the subjects of his compassion. Whenever he met the slaves of the island, he noticed them with kindness and commiseration. They soon became generally acquainted with his views and exertions in their favor, and as an evidence of gratitude to their benefactor, they came from the neighbouring farms on the Sabbath day and assembled around his house in the town, to the number of many hundreds; and he thus had an opportunity of conveying to them suitable advice, and also of furnishing them gratuitously with simple and wholesome food, as liberally as his restricted pecuniary resources would allow. In this practice he continued, until popular clamour was raised against him, and he was denied even the melancholy satisfaction of

showing his tenderness for those, whose sufferings, at most, he could only mitigate. In proportion to the steadiness and determination of his testimony against negro bondage, was the hostility of those who were enriched by its existence. Their opposition to his truly christian principles at length became so violent, that after having endured the conflict for several years, and perceiving no prospect of effecting any change in the conduct of the slave-holders, he resolved to seek an asylum in another country. This resolution, when communicated to his wife, she entirely approved. Her mind was deeply affected with the subject of slavery, and she said on that occasion, "*that she wished to leave Barbadoes, lest by remaining there she might be leavened into the nature of the inhabitants, which was pride and oppression.*" After having resided thirteen years in Barbadoes, he came to Philadelphia in 1731.

"The biographer next gives a description of his personal appearance. It will be seen, from the engraved likeness, (which is believed to be strictly correct,) that "his physical organization was not less remarkable than the qualities of his mind were rare and extraordinary." He proceeds:

"On his arrival in Pennsylvania, it was soon discovered that his character was eccentric. The practice of holding slaves was general in the province, though they were treated more mildly than their debased countrymen in the West Indies. Lay was, however, established in the pious doctrine that the odious system of slavery was altogether unrighteous, and with the same zeal with which he had begun, he continued to reprobate the conduct of every one who participated in the custom. His independence of opinion, and freedom of expression, rendered him a less welcome emigrant than those who could quietly approve, or openly adopt the habits of the times, and his sentiments met with vigorous opposition from every quarter. Thus this champion of justice, of human rights, and reformation, found himself again an almost solitary combatant in a field where prejudice and avarice had marshalled their combined forces against him."

"Excepting the time requisite for procuring food and raiment, he was altogether devoted to the inculcation of his doctrines; and for the promotion of them, he visited several of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, as well as other influential characters, in church and state. He omitted no opportunity to endeavor to interest every one with whom he met in the benevolent work he had undertaken; and to effect this, he adopted various means—some of which were so extravagant as to induce the belief that his intellect was partially diseased."

"The following facts will shew some of the modes he adopted, to convince the Society of Friends, and others, of the impropriety of their conduct in keeping slaves. During the session of an annual meeting, held at Burlington in New Jersey, Lay proceeded to that city. Having previously prepared a sufficient quantity of the juice of poke-berry (*Phytolacca decandra*) to

fill a bladder, he contrived to conceal it within the cover of a large folio volume, the leaves of which were removed. He then put on a military coat, and belted a small sword by his side; over the whole of this dress he threw his great coat, which was made in the most simple manner, and secured it upon himself with a single button. Thus equipped, he entered the meeting house and placed himself in a conspicuous situation, from which he addressed the audience in substance as follows:

"Oh all you negro masters who are contentedly holding your fellow creatures in a state of slavery during life, well knowing the cruel sufferings those innocent captives undergo in their state of bondage, both in these North American colonies, and in the West India islands; you must know they are not made slaves by any direct law, but are held by an arbitrary and self-interested custom, in which you participate. And especially you who profess *'to do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you'*—and yet, in direct opposition to every principle of reason, humanity, and religion, you are forcibly retaining your fellow men, from one generation to another, in a state of unconditional servitude: you might as well throw off the plain coat as I do"—(here he loosed the button, and the great coat falling behind him, his warlike appearance was exhibited to his astonished audience) and proceeded "It would be as justifiable in the sight of the Almighty, who beholds and respects all nations and colours, of men with an equal regard, if you should thrust a sword through their hearts, as I do through this book." He then drew his sword and pierced the bladder, sprinkling its contents over those who sat near him."

"In the year 1737, he published a book entitled, *'All slave keepers, that keep the innocent in bondage, apostates.'* Pretending to lay claim to the pure and holy Christian religion, of what congregation soever, but especially in their ministers, by whose example the filthy leprosy and apostasy is spread far and near; it is a notorious sin which many of the true friends of Christ and his pure truth, called Quakers, have been for many years, and still are, concerned to write and bear testimony against; as a practice so gross and hurtful to religion, and destructive to government, beyond what words can set forth, or can be declared of by men or angels, and yet lived in by ministers and magistrates in America.

The leaders of the people cause them to err.

Written for a general service, by him that truly and sincerely desires the present and eternal welfare and happiness of all mankind, all the world over, of all colours, and nations, as his own soul. BENJAMIN LAY."

"He always travelled on foot, and made frequent visits in the neighbourhood, as well as at a considerable distance from home; having once walked to Philadelphia, with an intention of conversing with an individual of considerable note, he found the family, on his arrival, sitting at breakfast; Lay entered the room, and was in-

"The particulars of this singular transaction, and the speech, were related to Dr. John Watson, deceased, formerly of Bucks county, by his friend and neighbor, the late Jonathan Ingham, Esquire, who was a witness of the scene.

vited to partake with them; but seeing a black servant in attendance, he inquired of his master: *'Is this man a slave?'* being answered affirmatively, he said, *'then I will not share with thee the fruits of thy unrighteousness,'* and immediately departed from the house. He never owned a slave himself, neither would he sit with, nor partake of the food of any one who kept them."

"Not long before his death, a friend of Lay's made him a visit for the purpose of acquainting him that the religious society of friends, had come to the determination to disown such of their members as could not be persuaded to desist from the practice of holding slaves, or were concerned in the importation of them. The venerable and constant friend and advocate of that oppressed race of men, attentively listened to this heart-cheering intelligence, and after a few moments reflection on what he had heard, he rose from his chair, and in an attitude of devotional reverence, poured forth this pious ejaculation: *'Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God.'*" After a short pause, he added—*'I can now die in peace.'*

I should rejoice, were it in my power to give more copious extracts from the life of this extraordinary man. Notwithstanding his enthusiasm and eccentricity, and his consequent disownment from the society of Friends, few men living (if any) have done more towards breaking the servile chains of the American slave, than him. The value of his labors, like those of all other genuine reformers, were not duly appreciated in his day. But since the publication of his memoirs, they have even been sought for by Europeans, and translated into foreign languages. He died on the 3d of February, 1759, aged 82 years—41 of which were actively devoted to the subject of the abolition of slavery. I close this sketch with one more extract from his biography.

"His temper was violent, but it was always excited for mercy's sake, and in behalf of those who dared not assert their own rights. His eccentricity was remarkable, but, in the main, it subserved the purposes of utility. His habits, though singular, were in many respects worthy of imitation. Some will allege, and none can doubt, that he occasionally manifested symptoms of derangement; yet all must acknowledge that *'oppression will make a wise man mad.'*" That he was pious and benevolent, most will admit. That he was disinterested and generous, few can deny. That his opinions were correct, concerning the great work of reformation, of which he was one of the founders, we have the almost universal consent of mankind, in the honourable verdict which civilized nations have pronounced upon the question."

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE REPORTS, &c. FROM ENGLAND.

The Reports from the Ladies Societies in England, the reception of which was mentioned in our last number, breathe throughout a spirit of encouragement, and exhibit a most animating picture of persevering exertion in the Negro cause, on the part of British females. We are rejoiced at the rapid multiplication of these societies, and at the interest in them which appears to be fast spreading from one border of the kingdom to the other.

"Many distant places" says one of the Reports, "are becoming deeply interested in the success of the patient, unwearied endeavours made by females, to induce abstinence from slave grown sugar, and are uniting together in this system of good will to man."

"Our appeal to the generous feelings of the sister kingdom have not been made in vain. We learn that at Cork, is an active Ladies Society; and others have been formed at Clonakilly, Clonmel, Mallow and West Pool, in Ireland; all employed in advocating the use of Free Labor Produce. We have also to rejoice at the advancement of the cause in other parts of that island."

Their unwearied endeavors do, indeed, deserve to be rewarded by the attainment of their object. They seem determined to leave no plan untried, no method unadopted, which may be made subservient to the end they have in view; and their success appears, thus far, to have been commensurate with their efforts. The Birmingham Association, which, from the tenor of its first report, we should suppose to have been the earliest established, has been in existence no longer than five years. It originated with "a few individuals," who felt deeply on the subject, "and determined to endeavor to awaken (at least in the bosom of English women) a deep and lasting compassion for the sufferings of the slave." We know not the precise number of the societies now, but inclusive of those in Ireland, we should suppose that to rate them at near thirty, would be scarcely too high a calculation. The plan of proceeding, developed in the following extract, appears to be that pretty generally adopted by the different societies.

"The object of Female Societies, for the relief of British Negro Slaves, is to circulate through all classes of the community such tracts and papers, published by the Anti-Slavery society, as clearly set forth the sufferings of the West Indian Slaves, for the purpose of awakening in every British bosom; a deep sense of the guilt and danger of continuing to hold them in a state of bondage, which outrages every principle of the British Constitution, and of the Christian Religion; to extend present relief to the aged, sick, and maimed Negroes, who are deserted by their masters;—assist in the formation and support of Schools, for Negro children and adults;—to enforce by example and influence, the rejection of West India Sugar; the cultivation of which, constitutes at once the chief oppressions of slavery;—and extensively to promote the establishment of similar Associations."

A variety of fancy articles, such as seals, portfolio's, albums, workbags, inkstands, work-boxes, &c. have been "adapted to anti-slavery purposes" and made use of for awakening the public attention. A number of these, the kindness of our English friends has given us the opportunity of examining, and we consider them well suited to the purpose for which they were intended. There is the seal, bearing the device of a female kneeling slave, and the very appropriate motto "Am I not a woman and a sister"—"The Negro's Forget Me Not,"—appealing with its poetic eloquence and "the magic of its name," to the heart's warm sympathies—and the Purse—who could rudely shut its clasps against the solicitations of mercy, while that pleading face is there to look a silent reproach for the unkindness? But we have not space to particularize. They are all but so many indications of a zeal that seems resolved never to intermit its efforts until they are crowned with success.

AMERICAN FEMALES.

After contemplating with admiring interest the various evidences given by British Ladies of their zealous devotedness to the cause of those who "have none in the land of their captivity to plead for them," the mind naturally turns itself upon our own country.

What has been done by the females of America? is the enquiry made from England. How many associations have they formed to promote the emancipation of your southern slaves?—and with shame and grief we must acknowledge how few have enlisted themselves on the side of humanity—how little has been done for the relief of those who are bound, in

the house of their brethren! And why is it thus? Has their passiveness arisen from a contented selfishness—or is it the result of ignorance of a necessity for their exertions—or of thoughtlessness? Oh! let them remember, ere it is too late, what is due to the long suffering of the slave, and stretch out their hands for his relief. Ask the question of ~~thine~~ own heart, lady, in its silent hour—What have I done for my afflicted brother? The answer may not come when thou art amidst the mirthful company of thy glad friends, and its pulses beat only to the music of the gay laugh—but in its twilight time of solemn thought—when sorrow is upon thine own soul or thy head is bowed in worship before your mutual Father—your mutual God—then listen if its silent teachings point not out a lesson of duty with regard to the slave!

Yet little as has hitherto been done by American females for the Negro race, we are not without the hope that a general sentiment of responsibility in that respect, will speedily obtain ground among them. In one city they have already awakened from the thrall of inactivity, and our sisters of Baltimore, we hope will soon follow in their footsteps. A spirit has gone forth among them that should not be suffered to slumber, until they have all registered their names as devoted servants in the cause of emancipation.

ENCOURAGING.

What can women do? is an enquiry frequently repeated, when emancipation is made the subject of conversation, by those who are too timid or too indifferent to decide the question by practical experiment. For a standing answer to such persons, if they are unwilling to take the usefulness of our societies upon credit, we will give the following extract from the Ladies Clifton Report. "The circumstance mentioned is new to us, and will probably be so to most of our readers.

"It is not perhaps generally known that the first impulse given to the public feeling on the subject of slavery, which ultimately led to the abolition of the trade, was communicated by females."

We regret that we have not space for the interesting narrative which follows that paragraph of "the commencement of that mighty work, to which so much piety, ability and perseverance, have been devoted." But a mere knowledge of the fact is sufficient to speak volumes of encouragement to woman's exertion, or of reproof for her supineness.

As a further sanction to female efforts, we may mention the information communicated to ~~the public~~ on one of the reports, that the name

of the venerable Mrs. HANNAH MOORE—a name deservedly held in the highest estimation on both sides of the Atlantic—is on the Committee of the Clifton Society.

SUGAR.

A late description, by a respectable eye-witness, of the cruelties practised at the present time on the Sugar plantations in the West-Indian Islands, concludes with the following impressive words:

"If you dare to do it, after what you have just read, take another spoonful of sugar to your cup of tea, and it is a hundred to one if there is not a tear of anguish and horror blended along with it. Indeed I would venture to assert, at any stake, (if it were possible to ascertain,) that there is not a hogshead of Sugar ever leaves the island, without having many of them in it."

Will our readers "choose Sugar in their tea?" Will they indulge their palates with a blood-bought sweetness—a luxury of which it may be truly said, when we consider all the wickedness and the misery which its culture has produced,—that the awful price is immortal souls! We reply in the language used by a writer in the "Negro's Forget Me Not:"

No, dear Lady, none for me!
Though squeamish some may think it,
West Indian Sugar spoils my tea;
I can not, dare not, drink it.

The simple produce of the cane
Excites no strong objections,
But with it comes a ghastly train
Of dreadful recollections.

True, the plant was freely given,
Kindly given to man to rear it;
Freely fall the dews of heaven,
Freely shine the rays that cheer it.

But what suffering and what guilt
Attend its cultivation—
What groans arise, what blood is spilt,
What bitter lamentation!

And can I taste a single grain,
Produced by such oppression;
The fruit of so much grief and pain,
The Negro's sad possession?

PREJUDICE.

When we consider the strength of early impressions, and the readiness with which even our own more matured minds receive a bias from trifling circumstances, the necessity will easily be perceived of using the utmost watchfulness, in order to guard the minds of the young from the influence of erroneous impressions. Upon the friends of the Negro, we would particularly impress the duty of extreme wariness, in order to preserve those under their care from the contagion of the prevailing prejudices

against that unhappy race. Suffer not those who are rising into life to enter its arena, as too many of ourselves have done, with their feelings warped by early misrepresentations, and their ideas of a dark skin inseparably connected with unworthiness of character. There are few females who have not, in some way or other, a degree of influence over the mind of childhood. Let them exert that influence for the benefit of their negro brethren. Let them carefully search out, and endeavor to eradicate from the minds of their young friends or relatives, any feelings of dislike or contempt, that may have been acquired from derogatory opinions of the colored race, which have been expressed in their presence; and thus fit them, in after life, to be the friends and advocates of the equise of the slave.

We do not say, that the vices of the Negro should be glossed over, and his faults concealed or palliated, in order to effect this. But it is surely most unjust, because many of them have been hitherto degraded beings, to insinuate the idea into the mind of the child, that *all* are, and must ever remain so. If he is told that they are ignorant and debased, let the inducing causes of their situation be pointed out to him;—let him see the difficulties they have to contend with; and let him be told, that some among them have nobly succeeded in conquering all the opposing force of untoward circumstances, and rising into high respectability. He will then form a true estimate of their respective situations. He will see that the Negroes have not risen to a higher grade in society because their efforts to do so have been continually baffled and discountenanced, by the contempt and unrelenting prejudices of the whites; and instead of despising them for what they are, he will endeavor to elevate their character, and to infuse a higher tone of moral feeling into their minds, by inspiring them with self-respect, and teaching them that they may, by exertion, reach a station in life worth contending for.

COMMUNICATIONS.

FREE LABOR COTTON MANUFACTURES.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Report of the Committee of the Female Association of Philadelphia for promoting the Manufacture and use of Free Cotton.

The Committee having, since our last meeting, taken a review of the affairs of the Association, feel themselves warranted in using the language of hope and encouragement. An examination into our accounts has given us the satisfactory assurance, that, although no profit has resulted from

the sale of the goods manufactured by our direction, our friends have not as yet sustained any diminution. As a desire for pecuniary advantages formed no part of the motives by which our members were influenced in thus associating themselves, an exemption from actual loss is all that we expect; and as such an exemption has been hitherto experienced, and while laboring under far greater disadvantages than at present, we may now calculate with much more apparent certainty upon the success of our future exertions.

From the lot of North Carolina cotton, of which our last report mentioned the reception and the purchase by Thomas Craig, the Committee has directed the manufacture of such articles as appeared best calculated to supply the present demand. Among them may be enumerated, one thousand yards of Vigonia Cassimere, a part of which is to be twilled; five hundred yards of Cotton drilling, and a similar quantity of Bed-ticking; Canton flannel; table diaper; furniture and apron checks; and shirting and sheeting muslins. A portion of these, we expect, will be finished in a very short time, when they will be immediately deposited for sale in the store room of the Association, at No. 252 North Third street.

From the statement of the manufacturers, the committee believe that these articles can be disposed of at prices very little, if at all, advanced above those of a similar character manufactured from the common slave material. The difference, if there be any, will only arise from their being wrought by hand, instead of steam power;—the quantity which our means would command, not having been sufficiently large to induce the proprietors of power looms to undertake its manufacture.

Of the goods previously manufactured, there are still on hand some muslins, a few pieces of calico, and twenty-six pieces, containing about 40 yards each, of the thin muslin prepared for that purpose, yet remaining unfinished, which we intend shortly to have stamped with different figures.

Through the unsolicited exertions of our brethren of the "Free Produce Society," the amount of one thousand dollars has been subscribed, as a voluntary contribution, by individuals, and rendered as a free loan for one year, and of which we are requested to avail ourselves whenever occasion may require. This unexpected act of kindness has enabled us to extend

our orders for articles manufactured from free cotton, and thus to furnish a more ample supply and a greater variety of these goods.

In conclusion we have only to request from our members, an unfaltering and still more earnest perseverance in their efforts on behalf of their oppressed fellow creatures, who are victims of the unholy system of slavery. We wish them to be active and interested participators in the concerns of our society, regarding not the inconveniences that may arise from a devotion of their time and services to the furtherance of the designs for which it was instituted.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE KNEELING SLAVE.

Pity the Negro, lady! her's is not
Like thine, a blessed and most happy lot!
Thou, sheltered 'neath a parent's tireless care,
The fondly loved, the theme of many a prayer,
Blessing and blest, amidst thy circling friends,
Whose love repays the joys thy presence lends,
Treadst gaily onward o'er thy path of flowers,
With ceaseless summer lingering round thy
bowers.

But her—the outcast of a frowning fate,
Long weary years of servile bondage wait.
Her lot, uncheer'd by hope's reviving gale,
The lowest in life's graduated scale—
The few poor hours of bliss that cheer her still,
Uncertain pensioners on a master's will—
Midst ceaseless toils renewed from day to day,
She wears in bitter tears her life away.
She is thy sister, woman! shall her cry
Unheeded for, and unheeded pass thee by?
Wilt thou not weep to see her sunk so low,
And seek to raise her from her place of woe?
Or has thy heart grown selfish in its bliss,
That thou shouldst view, unmoved, a fate like
this? MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

STORY TELLING.

Come to the green wood with me, gentle friend!
I know a hidden dell, where the chafed stream,
Goes bounding playfully with child-like mirth,
Over its stony path, and flinging up
Its waves with seeming petulance in foam.
The bank slopes down unevenly, but wears
Like Fairy, a gay mantlelet of green,
All border'd daintily with bright hued flowers.
The gray old trees bend over it, and up
Among their twisted boughs, an ancient vine
Hath strongly wreathed its stem. Below, it bends
In wayward convolutions o'er the stream,
Offering a couch where thou mayst safely sit
While I recline beside thee on the turf:
Will not the vine leaves shade us pleasantly
While we discourse together? wilt thou sing?
Or shall we tell sad stories? One I read,
But yesterday, that lingers with me still,
Haunting my memory with its thoughts of woe;
Twas of a dark-brown slave—One whose bright
days

Of early infancy had passed beneath
The glowing sun of Africa. She was torn,
Ere her tenth summer, from the sight of all
That made her childhood happy; and the spring
Of all the buoyant hopes that make young hearts
So blissful in their dreams, was crush'd at once.
She was a sad eyed girl—she never met
In revel scenes, with those who flung aside
Their sorrows for mad joyance; but a gleam
Of something like to bliss stole o'er her heart,
When one, who shared her infant sports, would
speak

Of those remembered hours. She wedded him;
And years of spirit-wearing toil went by,
Even midst her bonds, with almost happiness.
He could not brook his chains: a quenchless fire
Was in his spirit, and he burst all ties
That bound his heart—he left her, and was free;
She bore her sorrows patiently, and scarce
Let fall a tear-drop; but the gentle ones
That called her mother, wore more closely bound
In her bereaved affections; and their love
Was all that warm'd the pulses of her heart.
Then came another, and a darker blight;
They were torn from her, one by one, and sold,
Those nestlings of her heart; and she grew wild
With her exceeding anguish, and her cry
Went forth in accusation up to heaven.
She wander'd o'er each spot where they had been
Calling their names; and mourning with a grief
That had no comfort; until at length
The springs of life were wasted; and she laid
At twilight hour her head upon the turf
In dying feebleness. There came one by,
Who would have spoke her kindly then, and
soothed

The parting spirit; but the time was past;
She raised her head a moment, and once more
Repeated the sad burden of her grief;
"Me have no children, massa, no one child!"
And her last cry was hush'd! GERTRUDE.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

By the late Rev. C. W. H. C.

This passage is supposed to have been composed, when the author was looking out upon our nation, on one of her annual 4th of July Jubilees, and seeing her "sons of liberty" rallying—flourishing the sword—bidding the cannon roar—and exulting because they are free; when he thus exclaims—

"Your joy is merciless while its glad sounds
From more than half the land return in groans;
Throw down your banners lifted to the sky,
They will not float in this poisoned air,
Away with feasts and song, come, fast and
weep—

Away with all defiance and disdain
Of foreign tyrants; humbly mourn our own.
For who are tyrants? they that make men slaves.
With needful food supplied, the slave, say
some,

Desires no more, and, void of care, is blest.
And is it just

To shut him from all rational delight
Until he feels no wants but those of sense,
Then call him happy, to excuse the crime?
Or is it then no blessing to be free?
And were they fools who struggled to obtain
Our independence—to throw off a yoke
Far less oppressive than the one we bind
On Africa's sable sons? Are they not tax'd?
Yes! to the very blood that warms their veins.
No rights have they, not one for self-defence.
The master may inflict what e'er he will

le side death! may lash, and maul, and
ick,
hich these eyes have seen; may chain and
oke—

the sufferer but a finger lift
t the madman to preserve his life,
w condemns him, friendless and unheard.
, land of liberty! Come, all ye kings
rants of the world, come near and view
nd of liberty, where men are free
t, and scourge, and chain their fellow
en
r own pleasure, and without fear
human bar.

oud Columbia, hide thy towering head
the dust, in shame and penitence,
m thy robes be washed the stain of blood;
like a goddess rising from the sea,
ising in thy glory, prove thyself
een of earth, the daughter of the skies.

thy glory with prophetic eye,
se with thy crown of many stars
fair head, and clothed in spotless robes,
in state toward the Atlantic shore:
e hand casting to the waves below
t of all thy slave-oppressing chains,
h the other holding to thy breast
k of God. I hear the shouts of joy
g from end to end of thy domain.
e sound prolonged from wave to wave;
r they strike and echo on the coast
l Africa. The time will come—
the groans of earth shall all be lost
annas of millennial bliss—

will come when slavery shall cease.
some Wilberforce to lead the van!
and say, 'It must and shall be done;
'he hundredth time, unaw'd by frowns,
'd by failures, and repeat the same,
ry crown him with a fairer wreath
'o ever won or poet feign'd.'

Department Français.

LOUISIANE.

Du Liberal.

t d'intolérance, avec tout ce qui l'ac-
e, chassé de presque tous les autres Et-
t depuis longtemps réfugié chez nous
établi un empire sur lequel sa vo-
comme les lois d'un pouvoir absolu. Il
é un trône sur notre sol, qui n'a d'au-
que notre ignorance. Les préjugés
charges de chaînes qui nous empê-
ance: dans le chemin de la perfec-
torche de la barbarie a embrasé nos
: nous porte aux actes de cruauté et
on.

ommes fiers de pouvoir assurer que
nes les premiers entrés dans l'arène
ouvrir et chasser loin de nous ces en-
l'humanité. Nous y sommes entrés
miroir de la vérité et de l'épée de la
Nous avons osé le faire pour le bien
pays et l'amour de nos semblables.
prétendons pas d'achever l'oeuvre en-
réforme.

montrons seulement l'exemple; pré-
t nous tracerons le chemin, que nous
suivons avec une persévérance infatiga-
montrons au petit nombre, les per-
en intentionnés qui joignent leurs

vœux à nos efforts; qu'ils ne doivent pas crain-
dre de parler hautement en faveur de la bonne
cause.

[Translation.]

From the Liberalist.

The spirit of intolerance, with her attendant
train, driven from nearly all our sister states,
has, long since, taken refuge in our own.—Here
she has established an empire over which her
dictates are as the will of an absolute power.
She has erected to herself a throne upon our
soil, supported by no other pillar than our igno-
rance. Prejudice has loaded us with her
chains, which prevents us from advancing in
the road of improvement. Barbarity has igni-
ted our hearts from her torch, and thus drives us
to acts of oppression and cruelty.

We feel proud, to be able to assert, that we
were the first who entered the arena, in order to
expose and expel those enemies of humanity
from among us. We have entered the lists,
armed with the sword of justice, and the mir-
ror of truth. We have dared to do this for the
sake of our country, and for the love of our fel-
low creatures. We pretend not to complete
the entire work of reform. We will only set
the example; first, by leading the way, and af-
terwards by an indefatigable prosecution of our
labors.—We will show the gallant few who join
their wishes to our efforts, that they should not
fear to speak openly in favor of a good cause.

La cause de l'humanité a obtenu un triomphe
signalé sur ses ennemis, leur principal but, ce
but qu'ils s'efforçaient d'atteindre est manqué!!

Le bill amendé pour l'expulsion des person-
nes de couleur libres, le bill qui ne chasse que
ceux qui se sont introduits dans cet Etat depuis
1825, a passé à la législature. Mais n'importe
ceux qui y sont entrés depuis cette époque, qui
s'y sont mariés, qui y ont des enfans et qui peu-
vent fournir une caution de leur bonne conduite,
ont la permission d'y demeurer!!!

Quoique ceci ne puisse être considéré comme
un triomphe complet de notre cause, nous ne
pouvons nous empêcher, de nous en réjouir.
Nous voyons dans ce résultat l'effet de l'esprit
d'opposition que nous avons réussi à exciter
contre l'original du bill. Si nous étions restés
spectateurs muets des progrès des ennemis de la
tolérance et de l'humanité, "si nous n'eussions
pas opposé une force équivalente à leurs efforts,"
au lieu de cette chute, ils auraient eu un plein
succès. Le bill aurait passé sans l'examen ne-
cessaire. La majorité de nos législateurs, ne
voyant pas contredire les faux raisonnemens et
les assertions d'aplacées de son auteur et de ceux
qui l'appuyaient, auraient voté en sa faveur, et
les intérêts de l'Etat eussent reçu un coup irré-
parable.

[Translation.]

The cause of humanity has gained a signal tri-
umph over its enemies; the main part, the part
of their plans they loved the most, has failed!!!

The AMENDED BILL for the expulsion of the
free persons of color, the bill which drives out
of it only those who entered the state since 1825,
has passed the legislature. Those, however,
who have entered the state since that date, who
are married persons, who have children born
here, and who can give security for their good
conduct, are allowed to remain!!

If this cannot be considered as a *complete* triumph of our cause, yet it cannot fail, *partial* as it is, to give us pleasure. We see in this result the effect of the spirit of opposition which we had succeeded in exciting against the original bill. If we had remained silent and passive spectators of the progress of the enemies of tolerance and humanity, if we had not "*opposed an equivalent force to their efforts*," we have no doubt, that instead of this failure, they would have met with entire success. The bill would have passed without the necessary examination. The majority of our legislators finding the false reasonings, and barefaced assertions of its framers and proposers uncontradicted, would have voted for it, and thus struck a blow against the interests of our state from which it would have, perhaps, never recovered.

ADDRESSE AUX LEGISLATEURS LOUISIANE.

Quand Auguste buvait, la Pologne était ivre. Ce vers profond d'Arouet, lui seul vaut un bon livre.

En tout temps, on le sait, le destin des états
Depend et de ses chefs, et de ses potentats:
Si son chef est grand, le peuple aime la guerre
Quand il est un tyran, le peuple est sanguinaire
Aime-t-il les plaisirs, son système est suivi
Et s'il nait hébété, chacun feint l'être aussi
A-t-il l'esprit méchant; le peuple l'a caustique
S'il est homme d'état, le peuple est politique.
Voulez vous maintenir un bon gouvernement?
Avant de faire un choix, pensez y murement
Qu'à vos élections, la sagesse preside
Prenez la pour mentor, et pour base et pour guide

Soyez invariable, en défendant ses droits
Que l'intérêt de tous décide votre choix.
O! mes concitoyens! nos premiers mandataires
Ont entaché ce nom, par leurs loix arbitraires.
Tous, pris au dépourvu, sont justes, bienfaisans
Nommez les au pouvoir, vous faites des tyrans
O! vous dignes rivaux! de Lycurgue et Solon
Législateurs rivaux, dont Dieu nous a fait don
Despotique sénat, votre esperance est vaine
Le bien de tous, vous dit: étouffez votre haine.
Divine humanité, je vois sur tes autels;
Des présents que te font, des coeurs ingrats,
cruels:

Tu repousses loin d'eux, ces serpents hypocrites
(Justice et vérité: seules y sont inscrites)
Ah! recois les encre, de nos législateurs!
Ecris sur ton aigle, l'adresse aux sénateurs:
Vos noms, qu'en ce beau jour unit la bienfaisance
Le sont ô sénateurs, par la reconnaissance
Et triomphant des tems, et doublement vainqueurs,

Vivront sur le papier, et vivre dans les coeurs.

Un essai Littéraire.

CARACTERE DES HOMMES DE COULEUR.

Le caractère général des hommes de couleur libres, et l'état de la société parmi eux, ont été depuis longtemps les objets de notre attention. Nos perquisitions ont toujours tourné en leur faveur et augmenté la bonne opinion que nous en étions formé. Quand nous réfléchissons sur leurs progrès intellectuels, l'admiration se joint à l'estime. Chacun possède la lecture, l'écriture, et l'arithmétique, beaucoup ont acquis avec la théorie des langues, des connaissances géographiques, mathématiques, &c. Ils y ont réuni

sans aucune assistance étrangère. Ils ont versé par leurs efforts des obstacles sans bres qui se présentaient pour les empêcher de teindre la hauteur de ces sciences, et ils ne se vanter de posséder ce que nous (blancs) nous acquies qu'à force de contributions et de pays. On n'a jamais oui parler d'aucun public ou collège établi pour leur éducation le trésor public n'a point été épuisé pour leur, de semblables institutions, et nous le voyons néanmoins nos égaux en talens et en science.

Ce n'est pas seulement sous ce point de vue que se montrent nos rivaux. Examinons leur caractère moral; nous le trouvons tel qu'il est; des notions justes de l'honneur, un bien placé qui les empêche de rien faire que de se les avilir, et une probité qui éclate dans toutes leurs transactions. Le vice n'a été empire que sur un très petit nombre. chez eux peu d'ivrognes; il y en a paru une multitude. Et quoiqu'il y ait un plus grand nombre de loix contre eux que contre les blancs, nos prisons en comptent à peine un peu.

Plusieurs riront de nous voir rendre une classe, le tribut d'éloges qui lui est dû; nous savons que c'est un rire forcé. Nous dire (et il est de fait) que la haine que les blancs nourrissent contre les personnes de couleur, n'est fondée que sur la jalouse la persuasion qu'ils ont que cette classe est supérieure en bien des cas, qui leur inspire aversion et qui les portent à nourrir dans de leurs enfans des préjugés d'où naissent des sentimens anti-libéraux.

COLONIE CANADA.

Les autorités du territoire de Cincinnati donneront aux personnes de couleur des droits, par avis public de fournir des ca leur bonne conduite ou d'abandonner le territoire: elles étaient au nombre de 2000. nombre se trouvaient beaucoup de gens et riches; la demande de cautions fut. Ils convoquèrent une assemblée qui eût lieu; et après plusieurs propositions cernant le lieu qu'on devait choisir pour ils decidèrent de se rendre au Canada acheter cent vingt quatre mille acres de terre de première qualité. Nous avons que leur colonie est composée de 1100 personnes dont 600 de Cincinnati et 500 de différents endroits la balance restante des Cincinnati doit se joindre à eux le prochain ils ont pris des mesures pour quantité de graines de différentes places.

Ainsi donc dans un jour, une colonie opérera un effet puissant dans la condition des hommes de couleur et dans notre situation leur égard s'est élevée sans la protection du peuple Américain. En cas de rupture de gouvernemens Anglais et Américains deront les anglais de tout leur pouvoir.

Nous n'hésiterons pas de dire que la des hommes de couleur sera de beaucoup augmentée, et nous croyons qu'il ne sera pas de passer des lois pour empêcher leur éducation dans cet Etat. Sous un point de vue, nous pensons que le peuple de couleur a passé les bornes. Ils ôteront aux blancs une grande quantité d'artisans, et tout

disent que les artisans sont la richesse des États; ajoutez encore à cela qu'ils augmentent les forces d'un gouvernement rival.

BLACK LIST.

YOKING AND CHAINING!

A short time since, the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was informed that an odious spectacle, relative to a young slave, was exhibiting in the western part of this city. Curiosity, in addition to a desire for its exposition in a different way, induced him to visit the place, and investigate the matter.

On making enquiry and examination, it appeared that a man was building a new house, near the corner of Lexington and Estaw Streets. He had a negro boy about fourteen or fifteen years of age, perhaps, who for some cause that I did not hear assigned by him, he compelled to work in the cellar, with an iron yoke or collar (as it is called) weighing several pounds on his neck, and a long chain attached to one ancle and a fifty-six pound weight!!! In this predicament the poor youth was laboring with one other person in the cellar, as aforesaid. I shall not dwell upon this subject of outrageous treatment now; but intend soon to procure an appropriate engraving to represent the "Yoke" above mentioned, which is much used in some parts of this State. Verbal descriptions of such things seldom convey adequate ideas to the minds of readers in general.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The second number of the "*Liberia Herald*" states, on the authority of a gentleman from Sierra Leone, that ELEVEN slave vessels had been recently sent in by the British cruisers, and were awaiting their destiny. One of them had on board five hundred slaves—six or seven dying daily!—And yet, every one calculates to destroy the slave trade BEFORE THE MARKET FOR SLAVES IS DESTROYED!!!

The editor of the "*Herald*" further

remarks, on this Heaven daring traffic, as follows:—

"Our readers are generally aware of the settlement of a Spanish Slave Trader, at Little Bassa; but few of them know of the cruelties which this tyrant has exercised over the poor and helpless victims of his rapacity. He styles himself, Don Magill, Lord of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and ten thousand dollars; he has his horses and carries, cows, sheep, and a place withal to cover his imperial head. Like Robinson Crusoe, he is "lord of all he surveys," and the wild Bushmen stand amazed to see this "last hope" of Adam's race act the monarch, and consider it an honor, like the followers of the grand Lama, to be permitted to kiss even his great toe. But as we have already said enough concerning this man of straw, we shall present our readers with a few of his royal acts.

It is but recently that this lord of "ten thousand dollars" ordered one of his slaves to be bound hand and foot to a post, in one of the thatch houses of the country, and the house to be set on fire. About the same time, another was lashed to a cannon which was loaded and fired! Will such facts be believed in this enlightened age? Does not human nature shudder, when we reflect and know, that the greatest enemy to man, is man!

A FEMALE MURDERER.

An atrocious act was committed about five o'clock last evening in this city. A Mrs. Hayward in the neighborhood of Henrico Court House, suspecting a servant girl of about fourteen years of age of theft, taxed her with it, and one word bringing on another, seized a butcher's knife and stabbed her to the heart! The girl survived about five minutes, presenting a dreadful spectacle to the beholder. The culprit is in jail.—*Richmond Whig*.

FROM MANTANZAS.

The brig Rebecca, which arrived on Tuesday evening in 15 days from Matanzas, informs that the U. S. ships Falmouth and Shark were to the leeward, all well. A large Spanish Guineaman, with 300 slaves on board, had been chased ashore by H. B. M. schooner Pincher. She succeeded in landing all her slaves, got off, and arrived in Mantanzas. The Captain of the Pincher had demanded her of the Governor, but the latter refused to give her up.

Selections, Extracts, &c.*From the (New Orleans) Liberalist, of April 9.***EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.**

In consequence of the unprincipled and inhuman acts of the late legislature of this state, a number of free colored people of this city, and some of them personally known to us to be men of respectability and worth, have resolved to leave this country—the country of their birth, and to separate themselves from their friends and relatives, the scenes of their early youth: and to relinquish forever those delightful sensations, emanating from the enjoyment of the society of those with whom they have thus far spent their lives. This is truly a proof of their being possessed of a spirit of independence, worthy the name of republican citizens; that they hold in detestation and scorn the sordid, unworthy and tyrannical motives, which guide the actions of those men in office, who, lost to a sense of justice, moved and supported those barbarous measures which were under discussion in our late legislature; the object of which, was to array such laws against the free colored people of this state, as either to expel them from their homes, or reduce them to such a state of degradation and wretched servitude, as to render existence here a curse! We hope the time is not far distant, when such principles will find no advocates in the councils of our state.

Those persons of color who are about to leave this state, are nearly or quite all bound to Jamaica; where under a monarchical government, the rights and privileges of citizenship will be extended towards them. What comment will this present on the boasted freedom of our institutions? But we have before, and do now advise them, to be patient, remain here, and cherish a hope, that the principles of reason, justice and humanity, may again return to this region; and that our leading men may become convinced of the evil tendency of enacting oppressive laws and bringing them to bear against a class of people who, as a body, are free even from the suspicion of crime.

From the Kinderhook Herald.

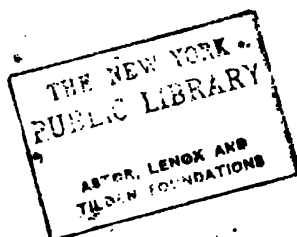
A circumstance of a painful nature and which excited much sympathy in the breasts of our citizens, occurred in this village on Monday last.

On Sunday evening Mr. Richard Dorsey, of Baltimore, Maryland, arrived here in quest of a fugitive slave. The follow-

ing morning Mr. Dorsey applied to Judge Vanderpoel for a writ of Habeas Corpus against a colored man in the employ of Gen. Whiting, calling himself John Russell, whom he alleged to be his lawful slave. Sufficient evidence having been adduced to warrant the issuing of the writ, it was accordingly made out and placed into the hands of the deputy sheriff, who forthwith brought the person in question before the judge at his chambers. The negro was identified by the oath of a person who accompanied Mr. D. as being his slave, and it was proved that he absconded from his master in the year 1828. John confessed the truth of the allegation against him.—The judge ordered him to be restored to his master, who without much ceremony ordered him to be manacled (having brought the manacles for that purpose with him) and immediately took his departure for his place of residence.

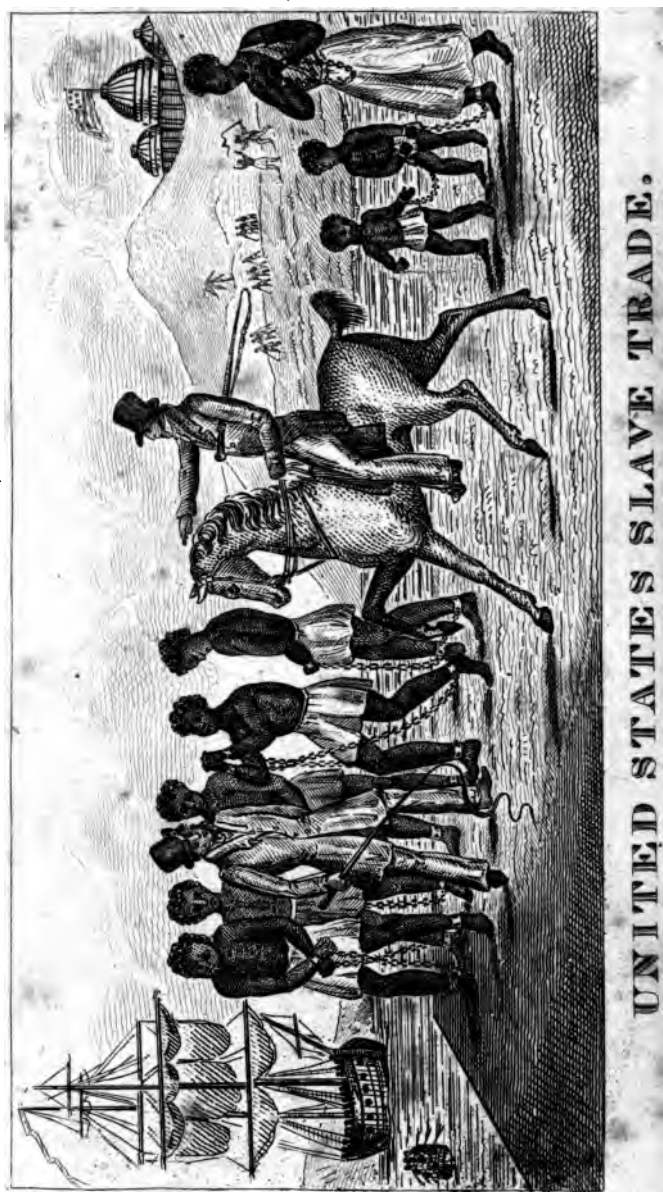
There is something in the case of this unfortunate man, who has thus been compelled to return to a state of bondage after enjoying the blessings of liberty for nearly two years, which is calculated to excite feelings of commiseration for his fate. During his sojourn here, which was several months, he had conducted himself in the most unexceptionable manner; and his industry, civility and good conduct, had secured to himself the confidence of his employer and good wishes of all who knew him. He had acquired the art of reading and writing, and was often seen, after the cessation of his daily labors, engaged in the perusal of books. His literary attainments which under any other circumstances might be considered a blessing, have proved to him a curse; as by means of an intercepted letter which he wrote to his friends in Baltimore, the place of his retreat was discovered. What adds to the severity of poor John's fate, is that we was on the eve of being united in the bands of matrimony to the maid of his choice.

THE DEVIL IN PAIN!—In Plymouth, there is, or was formerly, a ready-witted negro by the name of Prince. Persons acquainted with the humor of the old fellow, were in the habit of cracking jokes with him, to hear his ready answers. The late Judge Paine, who was attending Court in Plymouth, one day accosted him thus: "Prince have you heard the Devil is dead?" "No Massa," replied he, "I no hear ob it, but I pose it berry likely, for I understood he was in Paine!"



...ed
...adon to its
...struction to our

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No. 4 Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

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[WHOLE NUMBER 256. Vol. XI.

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THE FOURTH OF JULY.

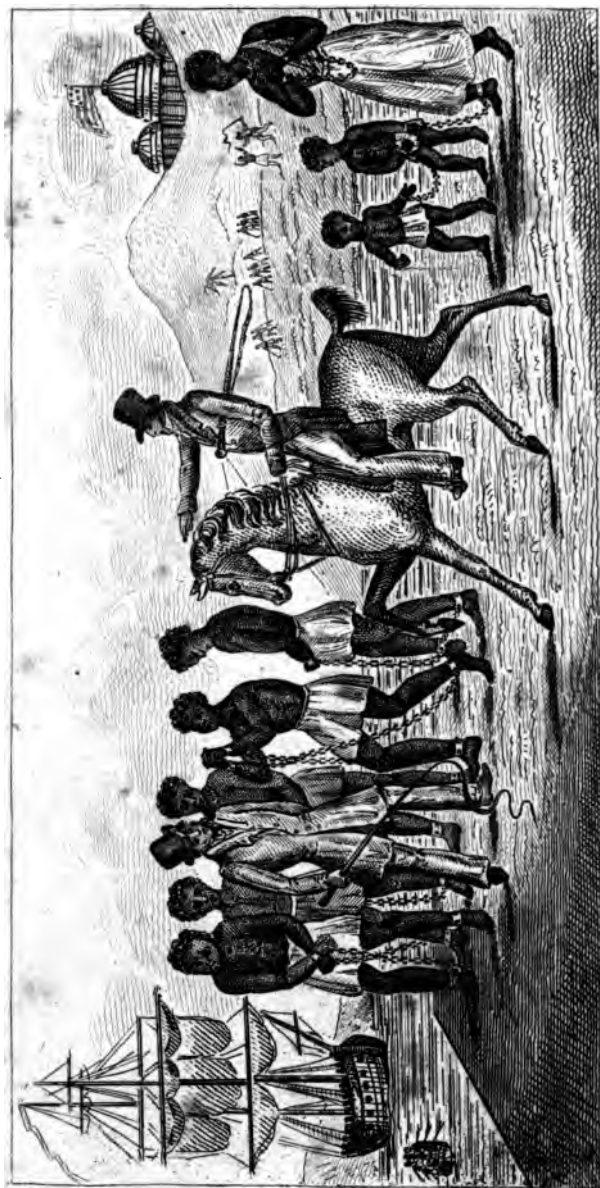
Another anniversary of this holy day gladdens the hearts and calls forth the lively gratitude of millions. The loud shouts of the multitude and the deep roar of cannon proclaim the importance of the occasion. In common with the rest of the citizens of this Republic, we rejoice that we are exempted from the irresponsible, capricious rule of a monarch, and are permitted by a wise Providence to possess the inestimable privileges pertaining to human nature in an infinitely greater degree than a large portion of mankind. Yet, the recurrence of one consideration, of immense and increasing importance, measurably counteracts every joyous emotion of soul, inspired by these reflections.

How many of us are in the habit of deliberately examining this subject in all its bearings? or how few do we find, willing to look with an impartial eye on one dark, inconsistent trait in our conduct! While we are singing hosannas at Liberty's sacred shrine, and offering up the sweet incense of gratitude on her holy altar;

while our hands are laid upon our hearts, and we emphatically utter the solemn truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with the **INALIENABLE** rights of life, liberty, &c. and while we are in the full enjoyment of those rights and privileges ourselves; yet, at the same time, the groans of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-creatures whom we chain down and hold in the fetters of a cruel bondage, and the shrieks of tens of thousands whose flesh is torn and whose blood is streaming under the agonizing whips of merciless demons in human shape, are ascending to heaven from within our borders!!!

But, it will be said: "Much is doing to meliorate the wretched condition of the African. Societies have been formed, and funds have been procured, and much more will still be done, to aid his removal to the *Land of his fathers*." Gracious Heaven! and is this all that is considered necessary? Will this remove a tythe of the evil complained of? Is this all that is to be done!

It is astonishing that a large portion of our citizens are so short-sighted as to put confidence in such half-way measures. Because the project of African Colonization is popular; because influential men approve of it, (some for no other reason than that it is popular,) many believe that it will answer every desirable purpose!! When, alas! will the minds of men be swayed by justice, instead of mere popularity? When will the people of this nation discover that such measures can only serve as momentary anodynes, but never will, of themselves, remove the enormous evil that has already corrupted the nation to its core, and threatens swift destruction to our Union, as well as our free institutions?



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And the prayers that ye heed not be heard in the
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As proudly swept that good ship by,
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While ever from their childhood's shore,
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UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNOT, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 4 Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JULY, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 256. Vol. XI.

The Copperplate engraving, accompanying this number, was executed by one of our ingenious Baltimore artists, from a design furnished by the editor, and drawn by a young gentleman of this city. It was prepared expressly for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*; but copies may be had, separately, on fine paper, with or without frame, by applying at this office. The expense of such engravings is too great to admit of their being furnished often, without a considerable increase of the number of prompt subscribers. The cost of this is nearly thirty dollars. But the editor indulges the hope that his efforts to render the work interesting, will be met by a corresponding liberality on the part of his friends,

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Another anniversary of this holy day gladdens the hearts and calls forth the lively gratitude of millions. The loud shouts of the multitude and the deep roar of cannon proclaim the importance of the occasion. In common with the rest of the citizens of this Republic, we rejoice that we are exempted from the irresponsible, capricious rule of a monarch, and are permitted by a wise Providence to possess the inestimable privileges pertaining to human nature in an infinitely greater degree than a large portion of mankind. Yet, the recurrence of one consideration, of immense and increasing importance, measurably counteracts every joyous emotion of soul, inspired by these reflections.

How many of us are in the habit of deliberately examining this subject in all its bearings? or how few do we find, willing to look with an impartial eye on one dark, inconsistent trait in our conduct! While we are singing hosannas at Liberty's sacred shrine, and offering up the sweet incense of gratitude on her holy altar;

while our hands are laid upon our hearts, and we emphatically utter the solemn truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with the INALIENABLE rights of life, liberty, &c. and while we are in the full enjoyment of those rights and privileges ourselves; yet, at the same time, the groans of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-creatures whom we chain down and hold in the fetters of a cruel bondage, and the shrieks of tens of thousands whose flesh is torn and whose blood is streaming under the agonizing whips of merciless demons in human shape, are ascending to heaven from within our borders!!!

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bondage will as certainly be broken as that there is a God in Heaven.

In this grand, magnificent undertaking, the Ladies of England AND IRELAND are evidently taking the lead. The holy ardor that enkindled the blaze of philanthropy in the breasts of a few, but four or five years since, is spreading throughout the whole realm; and the great, the mighty work will owe its success to the active labors, the untiring perseverance, and the ingenious, eloquent, all-powerful and irresistible pleadings and arguments of Woman!

CONSUL MACKENZIE*—HAYTI—JAMAICA.

In a recent number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I made a few remarks upon the "*West Indian Reporter*," which had then just been received. It contained a long article, from the pen of Mackenzie, the late British Consul, in the island of Hayti, couched in terms very unfavorable to every thing there. I was preparing to expose the gross, prejudiced statements and malversations of this miserable tool of the British slavite party, in a more particular manner than I had yet done; but, fortunately, the London "*Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*," for December, came to hand in good time, containing an able review of his writings, and much information, relative to his conduct, that I was not previously in possession of. I shall, therefore, as soon as practicable, transfer a portion of the article from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* to the columns of this work, instead of pursuing my original intention.

The true state of things in Hayti is veiled as much as possible, by the advocates of slavery, every where. It is now the prime object with them, both here and in England,† to belie that

*The name of this personage is used by our slavites, and heedless newsmongers, as a sort of "Monsieur Tonson." They parade him before us repeatedly, and make him to say, over and over, what has been as often refuted and proved to be extremely incorrect, or wholly without foundation. An article is now "going the rounds," which is nothing more nor less than one of his worn-out munchausens, with a little darning, and here and there a patch over the largest rents which had been effected by the severe exposure of candid investigation. Yet notwithstanding this, many of our ignorant or prejudiced editors are silly enough to pass it off for a new thing!

†It suits the English colonists, exceedingly well, to represent the people of Hayti as in the worst condition possible. If they can, thereby, stay the march of Justice a little longer, in the mother country, their end will be answered.

But what is the state of things among themselves? In the Kingston (Jamaica) *Chronicle*, now before me, one hundred and fourteen "run-aways" (slaves) are advertised, that had recent-

ly been put in several different work-houses, of which thirty-seven are females!!

Republic upon every occasion, in order to propagate the belief that the African race cannot be fitted for self-government. This gives importance to the subject, with us; and I trust the readers of this work will so consider it.—Hayti is the only place, in the world, where the Africans enjoy the blessings of a liberal Constitutional government. They have already proven themselves equal to the whites, in every respect, so far as they have had fair opportunities. The knowledge of this is doing wonders. It is calculated to call forth the philanthropy of the Universe. The outrageous doctrine of their natural inferiority is boldly denounced, and its fallacy exposed. The fetters and chains of unconditional bondage are melting in the crucible of investigation. Despotism may rave, thunder his hellish mandates, and impotently wield the rod of insatiate oppression—Cruelty may stalk through the land, exhibiting his fetters and blood-extorting screws—The gory fiends of inhuman rapacity may sacrifice their victims on the altar of demoniac vengeance—But, nevertheless, the day is most assuredly approaching, when those who have been so long despised, oppressed and abused, shall be redeemed, invested with their natural rights and privileges, and reinstated among the virtuous, the enlightened, and influential of the human race.—And this, it is to be hoped, will be accomplished, under the direction of Divine Providence, by the all-potent engine of moral and intellectual power.

In the same number of the "*Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*," as above mentioned, some further notice is taken of the establishment of a Press in Jamaica, by the colored people. Anon, I shall have something further upon this particular subject.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Again I am under the necessity of postponing many interesting articles for the want of room. In addition to several editorial reviews, and notices of various subjects, a number of valuable communications must lie over. The subject of African Colonization, and certain proceedings of the agents of the Colony of Liberia, including some recent correspondence between one of the Colonists and his friend here—The proceedings of the colored people, relative to the emigration to Canada—The state of things in Mexico, and the bearing which future contemplated operations may have upon the slave system in this country—The conduct of Bolivar, as connected with the question of slavery—The present movements in England, relative to the abolition of slavery in her West-India Colonies—The opinions inculcated by Frances

ly been put in several different work-houses, of which thirty-seven are females!!

Wright, as connected with slavery, &c.—These are a few of the most important subjects that claim my own attention, and which I design to treat on soon.

My Correspondents are numerous and valuable; and as many of them will be attended to as possible.—But they must be patient, with me, as I am with the public, who will not patronise a weekly publication, devoted to the important subject of African Emancipation.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

By the following notice it appears, that another vessel is to be fitted for Africa, in the ensuing Autumn, by the Colonization Society. This will afford an opportunity, it is to be hoped, to take some more slaves out of bondage. If that Society will direct their attention more to this unfortunate class of colored people, its labors will be calculated to effect more real good, both for the colored race and our own country.

OFFICE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
Washington, July 7, 1830.

The Managers of the American Colonization Society have resolved to despatch a vessel, to convey one hundred or more emigrants from Norfolk to Liberia on the 1st of October. It is highly important, that applications for a passage in this expedition should be duly made to the Secretary of the Society in this City. Applications for a passage may also be made to J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Baltimore; John M'Phail, Esq. Norfolk; B. Brand, Esq. Richmond; R. H. Toler, Esq. Lynchburg; or to the Secretaries of any of the State or other Auxiliary Societies.

MATHEW B. TRUSS.

A colored man of the above name, from Staunton, Va. is now soliciting funds to purchase his family, with the view of removing them to Liberia. His case is peculiar; and the friends of the colored race will feel interested in his narration. It is to be hoped that he may be successful.

Correspondence.

"LEX TALIONIS."

The following Cards were intended for the May number of this work; but as the editor had not then an office of his own, he was induced to defer their publication by the timidity of his printers.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

CARDS.

To Nicholas Brice, Judge of Baltimore City Court.

YOUR HONOR: You are a very considerable man. Spare those crimson blushes: it is the office of Judge that raises you to the dignity of my notice, and not your peculiar merit.

At a leisure hour, I propose to dedicate a series of numbers to your Honor, wherein I shall review your conduct as exhibited at my late trial, in a manner that shall secure to you a deathless notoriety.

Even here, barren as is the place, I daily discover new beauties springing up in your official character, which shall certainly embellish my essays. Nay, I will erect your statue even in your lifetime.

Your Honor will not construe my magnanimity into a contempt of Court. I assure you, that I entertain an extraordinary opinion of the

merits of the Court! If, however, another action be brought against me, I offer you, gratuitously, this seasonable advice: *Let the indictment embrace that part which is actionable.*

With undying remembrance, I remain, &c. &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

To Richard W. Gill, Deputy Attorney for the State.

SIR: I communicated to you, in a note a few days since, the fact that I was preparing a brief sketch of my trial, for the astonishment of all good men, the instruction of the bar, and the consideration of an intelligent public. It is difficult to remember minute objects; but if I do not forget you, perhaps I may generously make you as tall as an ordinary man, with the aid of a block. An elevation or abasement of twenty feet would destroy your visibility.

Your presumptuous, feeble, ridiculous remarks upon the subject of slavery, and the rights of slaveholders, exhausted my patience. A buzzing fly may disturb the equanimity of a sage; but if a pin be stuck through its wings, the insect, Sir, is harmless. Beware of my pen!

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

To Mr. Henry Thompson, Merchant of Baltimore.*

SIR: If the severe, pointed, thundering rebuke from my Counsel, before a listening Court, failed to make any impression upon your ample countenance, what condemnation of mine can make it yield? Yet I do not wholly despair. Even bronze is susceptible of change.

The pleasure you derive from my incarceration, I do not grudge. It is a small reward for your disinterested and unremitted exertions in behalf of your employer. I shall charitably give a donation. Be patient. Every day adds compound interest to the principal. Let this evidence that I am, &c. &c.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Baltimore Jail, May 13, 1830.

*This man is Mr. Todd's Agent in this city—by birth an Englishman—and a believer in the justness & gainfulness of the domestic slave trade.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

The following lines (the hasty effusion of a moment) were published a few weeks since in the National Journal, with a few typographical errors. The speech of Mr. Frelinghuysen deserves, and will receive, a far more eloquent tribute—the gratitude of the good and wise, in every section of our territory. I can only adopt, in extenuation of the poverty of my language, the words of Junius: "*I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.*"

Mr. Frelinghuysen is yet in the infancy of his fame. He has many shining qualities as an orator, a patriot, and a philanthropist; but their radiance is greatly increased by his unaffected piety—which is, indeed, the crown and glory of a Senator. If the dominant party in the Senate had not been more insensate than marble statues, or their hearts more impenetrable than polar ice, his speech would have effectually checked the rapacity of Georgia, and rescued the American name from eternal infamy. Their positive refusal to observe the faith of treaties caps the climax of party depravity;

which, in this instance, is one degree below total depravity.

TO THE

HON. THEODORE FREELINGHUYSEN:

On reading his eloquent Speech in defence of Indian Rights.

If unto marble statues thou hadst spoken,
Or icy hearts congeal'd by polar years,
The strength of thy pure eloquence had broken,
Its generous heat had melted them to tears;
Which pearly drops had been a rainbow token,
Bidding the red men sooth their gloomy fears.

If Honor—Justice—Truth—had not forsaken
The place long hallowed as their bright abode,
The faith of treaties never had been shaken,
Our country would have kept the trust she owed;

Nor Violence nor Treachery had taken
Away those rights which nature's God bestowed.

Fruitless thy mighty efforts—vain appealing
To grasping Avarice, that ne'er relents;
To PARTY POWER, that shamelessly is stealing,
Banditti-like, whatever spoil it scents;
To base intrigue, his cloven foot revealing,
That struts in Honesty's habiliments.

Our land—once green as Paradise—is hoary,
E'en in its youth, with tyranny and crime;
Its soil with blood of Afric's sons is gory,
Whose wrongs eternity can tell—not time;
The red man's woes shall swell the damning story,

To be rehearsed in every age and clime!

Yet, FREELINGHUYSEN! gratitude is due thee,
And loftier praise than language can supply:
Guilt may denounce, and Calumny pursue thee,
And pensioned Impudence thy worth decry;
Brilliant and pure, posterity shall view thee
As a fair planet in a troublous sky.

Be not dismayed!—On God's own strength relying,

Stand boldly up, meek soldier of the Cross!
For thee, ten thousand prayers are heavenward flying—

Thy soul is purged from earthly rust and dross:
Patriot and Christian! ardent—self-denying—
How could we bear resignedly thy loss?

Baltimore Jail, May 22, 1830. W. L. G.

NATURE OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.

An esteemed friend and correspondent lately handed me the following, expressing his desire that it might appear in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. I cheerfully comply with the request; and would quite as readily insert his own remarks, were he also to saddle the other horse, by saying that *we, ourselves*, are equally as guilty as the people here complained of—even more so—for with our higher profession of liberty and justice, we still tyrannize as emphatically as they do.—*Ed.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Dick, when speaking of the moral state of *Civilized* nations, makes the following remarks. "I might have traced the operations of malevolence, in the practice of that most shocking and abominable traffic, the *Slave Trade*—the eternal disgrace of

individuals and of nations calling themselves *civilized*. This is an abomination which has been encouraged by almost every nation in Europe, and even by the enlightened states of America. And although Great Britain has formally prohibited, by law, the importation of Slaves from Africa: yet in all her West Indian colonies, slavery in its most cruel & degrading forms exists; and every proposition, and every plan for restoring the negroes to their natural liberty, and to the rank which they hold in the scale of existence, is pertinaciously resisted by gentlemen planters, who would spurn the idea of being considered as either Infidels or Barbarians. They even attempt to deprive these degraded beings of the chance of obtaining a happier existence in a future world, by endeavouring to withhold from them the means of instruction, and by persecuting their instructors." "In *Demerara*, alone, there are 76,000 immortal souls linked to sable bodies, while there are but 3,500 whites; and yet, for the sake of these three thousand whites, the seventy six thousand, with all their descendants, are to be kept in IGNORANCE OF THE WAY OF SALVATION, for no other purpose than to procure a precarious fortune, for a very few individuals, out of their sweat and blood."—"Is such conduct consistent with the spirit of benevolence, or even with the common feelings of humanity? The whole affair, from cause to consequence, is detestable and execrable, beyond conception."

Biographical Sketches.

RALPH SANDIFORD.

The subject of our present notice was one of those pious, thorough-going reformers, who have occasionally appeared in the world, and have shewn a willingness to plead for justice, regardless of consequences. He did not counsel with the earthly "powers that be," relative to the policy of his measures. As he had nothing in view of an anti-pacific character, there was no necessity for consulting frail mortals respecting the propriety of promulgating his doctrines. He plead the cause of humanity with boldness and energy, regardless of persecution or praise; and hence fairly won the meed of virtue and honor, which posterity has since cheerfully awarded.

It appears that Ralph Sandiford was born in Liverpool, England, in the year 1693. He was instructed in the doctrines of the Episcopal Church, but subsequently joined in membership with the religious society of Friends. In his youth he migrated to this country, and engaged in commercial business in Philadelphia. While thus employed, he frequently visited the West Indies and various parts of the American Continent. By this means he became acquainted with the evils of the system of African Slavery, and thenceforward determined to devote a portion of his time to an investigation thereof. He early inculcated the rational opinion, that *"the holding of negroes in slavery is inconsistent with the rights of man, and contrary to the precepts of the Author of Christianity."* He was a contemporary and intimate friend of Benjamin Lay; as appears from Vaux's biography of these eminently virtuous men, published in one volume.

During his mercantile operations, he was once robbed by pirates, and twice wrecked, which occasioned the loss of much of his property. At this juncture, he had an offer of employment in a commercial enterprise, which he declined for the following reasons, which are given in his own words.—

"I had, while in South Carolina, a service presented by one esteemed the richest in the province, who would have bestowed large gifts on me, which engaged me to acknowledge his affection, and the openness of his heart, yet I could not partake of his proffers, his riches proceeding from slaves, lest I should have lessened my future happiness, which I had an eye to in the faith, and now in measure witness the end of it, which otherwise would have brought me into bondage, and made me a debtor and an oppressor in the creation, which was so contrary to me that nature groaned under the sight and sense I had of it, which hastened me to Pennsylvania, where the Lord raised me again to substance, which was consumed by a fire, where I wonderfully escaped the lot of those that were burnt, in all which I saw the hand of the Lord, who has again raised me to fulness and

plenty, which I now mention to commemorate his providence."

From this period until the year 1729, his biographer remarks that he was engaged in promulgating his doctrines on the subject of slavery. He even sought opportunity of provoking discussion respecting it, wherever he went. He also published a book, entitled—*"The Mystery of Iniquity, in a brief examination of the Practice of the Times."* This excited the ire of the Chief Justice of the Province,* who threatened him with severe penalties for its circulation; yet, disregarding this, he circulated it gratuitously.—Many were, no doubt, enlightened by it; but he found numerous opponents, as there were many persons whose interests were assailed, or whose practices were exposed, by the picture he gave of slavery.

For nearly two years, he was incessantly engaged in combatting the objections to his opinions. At length his health became impaired, and he purchased a small farm, about nine miles northeastwardly from Philadelphia, to which he removed, and there spent the remainder of his days "in patriarchal simplicity." As to his personal appearance, we do not learn that it was particularly remarkable; and it does not appear that his portrait was ever taken.

This apostle of Universal Emancipation was cut off in the midst of his usefulness, by the hand of disease. He died in the fortieth year of his age, A. D. 1733. His remains were interred in a field, on his own farm. His grave was enclosed with a balustrade fence, and a Stone placed at the head of it, thus inscribed:—

"In Memory of
RALPH SANDIFORD
Son of John Sandiford
of Liverpool, he Bore
A Testimony against the
Negro Trade & Dyed
ye 28th. of ye 3d. Month
1733. Aged 40 years.

*Such conduct generally characterizes men in power, when Society becomes corrupt. Do not our slaveholding Judges now pursue a similar course?

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE FREE COTTON ASSOCIATION.

By the last Report of the Female Free Cotton Association of Philadelphia, we are informed that a considerable quantity of the goods mentioned last month, has been received.—They consist of

- 225 yards Table Diaper,
- 227 " Furniture Check,
- 222½ " Apron do.
- 95 " Angola Cassimere.

471½ have been disposed of to the different purchasers, and 297½ yet remain on hand. The other articles, mentioned in our last number, are expected daily; and a few pieces of Calico, of different patterns, are in a state of preparation.

REVOLUTIONARY FEMALES.

In turning back the thoughts to the era of the revolutionary conflict, there is no feature in the character of the times more striking, to a female mind, than the calm resolution displayed in the conduct of the American Women of that period. Though surrounded with all the miseries and distresses naturally attendant upon war, they not only bore up amidst them patiently and uncomplainingly, but even added voluntarily to their own discomfort, by the renunciation of many of their accustomed articles of luxury. And yet what were they to gain by the struggle for liberty? They had been happy under the royal government: a system of taxation, however unjust, so long as it was borne patiently, could have no effect upon their domestic felicity, nor could the operation of the stamp act have carried terror and desolation to their peaceful firesides. What, then, was Independence to them? Could it soothe the long terrible hours of suspense during the undecided battle, in which those they best loved were partisans? Could it restore the limbs of the wounded, or reanimate the cold bodies of the slain? No! they had much to lose by the contest, but, let the sword be sheathed as triumphantly as it might, it could bring them no increase of happiness to atone for all their long endurance of suffering. Yet they did endure—firmly—unshrinkingly; but this was not a selfish sacri-

fice—it was made at the altar of Patriotism, and for their country and their children.

Would the females of the present day act in the same manner, in a similar emergency? We know not—possibly they might; but they are certainly not willing, as a body, to undergo one hundredth—nay, the one thousandth part of such privations, in what we consider a much better cause—that of endeavoring to rescue a degraded portion of themselves from the vilest bondage. We believe them to be much more imperiously called upon by duty now, to exert themselves in behalf of the enslaved Negro, than they were to hold up the hands of their brethren during the revolutionary conflict. However disgraceful and oppressive political slavery may be, there is at least no crime in the sight of heaven in submitting to it patiently. But there is a national, fearful, overwhelming guilt incurred by bowing down the soul of man, as is done in our country, to a bondage that ranks him no higher than the brutes that perish. In the one case, the mind could be influenced only by patriotic feelings; in the other, these are combined with, and sanctified by, the strongest principles of humanity and religion.

In aiding the cause of emancipation, our sex would perform a triple duty—a service which they owe to their country, their fellow creatures, and their God. Oh, if they would but examine the subject, with a disposition to be convinced of the truth; if they would but imagine themselves in the condition of the slave, with all its amount of suffering and injustice entailed upon them forever—would reflect upon the horrible system of trading in human flesh, which tramples so sacrilegiously upon the holiest ties of the human heart, and remember that they are each in part responsible for this iniquity, could it be that they would still remain inert, unmoved, lethargic!

OBEDIENCE.

Ought it not to be a source of shame to us, when we reflect upon the unhesitating enthusiasm with which many of the votaries of a heathen faith enter into the performance of what they deem their religious duties, that our own obedience to the commands of our Eternal Lawgiver should be so tardily rendered, so measured according to the rules of a calculating convenience?

The pilgrim, who worships at the shrine of Mecca, has dared the perils of the desert and the deadly breath of the poisonous simoom, that he may pour his prayer on what he deems the holiest spot of the earth's regions—

In wild despairing groans they breathe their
 woe,
 And call on those they ne'er shall view below,
 As thoughts that framed their deepest bliss, but
 now
 Send added torture to the burning brow;
 While fated still her wonted chain to wear,
 And all the weight of lonely bondage bear,
 In shrieks the frantic mother, from the shore,
 Beholds them sever to return no more.

And are there none to whose relenting breast,
 The Afric's plea is not in vain address'd?
 Who shame them not to own his kindred claim,
 And gift the negro with a brother's name?
 Ay, there are some—some hearts that yet can
 feel,
 And dare defend his rights and guard his weal;
 Some few who shrink not from th' oppressor's
 power,
 Nor leave him helpless in his gloomy hour.
 A fire is lit on Freedom's holiest shrine,
 That yet o'er Afric's midnight sky shall shine;
 For this shall Woman's prayers to heaven ascend,
 Her breath shall fan it, and her care attend;
 Thus swift from heart to heart the flame shall
 run,
 And triumph crown the work but now begun.

E.

AFRICAN FEMALES.

I take this opportunity (says Lander in his *Records of Clapperton's last Expedition*) of expressing my high admiration of the amiable conduct of the African females towards me; in sickness and in health, in prosperity and in adversity, their kindness and affection were ever the same. They have danced and sung with me in health, grieved with me in sorrow, & shed tears of compassion at the recital of my misfortunes. When quite a boy, and suffering from fever in the West Indies, women of the same race used to take me in their arms, sing and weep over me, and tell me not to die, for that my mother would break her heart to hear the news; and pointing to the ocean, they cheered my spirits by saying that it laved the shores of England, & would shortly bear me on its bosom to my distant home. In fine, through whatever region I have wandered, whether slave or free, I have invariably found a chord of tenderness and trembling pity to vibrate in the breast of an African woman; a spirit ever alive to sooth my sorrows and compassionate my afflictions;—and I never in my life knew one of them to bestow on me a single unpleasant look or angry word.

A negro boy, 19 years of age, belonging to Madame Adde of Norfolk, threw himself from a wharf, and was drowned, on the 8th inst. because his mistress was about to chastise him!

Department Français.

Nouvelle Orleans, 27 Mai.

Nous avons reçu un traité sur l'esclavage par un propriétaire d'esclaves, habitants des Florides. Ce traité renferme un raisonnement solide et montre le sophisme des systèmes actuels concernant les personnes libres de couleur; tiré de la source d'où il provient, il a des titres à une entière croyance, et il fait honneur à l'auteur; qui a abandonné ces principes de sectes que les gens de couleur sont incompatibles avec l'esclavage. Il eut pu ajouter que ces gens sont honnêtes, industriels et ont du talent, et qu'ils sont même propriétaires de biens fonds, et ont toujours en la plus grande opinion de leurs frères blancs. Défaisons-nous donc de ces principes égoïstes qui sont indignes d'hommes libéraux, qu'ils jouissent des droits de suffrage; et que l'on ne fasse d'autre distinction que celle du mérite. L'Etat de la Caroline ou Nord et celui de New-York ont permis à leur population de couleur de voter dans les assemblées nationales: quel mal en est-il résulté? aucun. Pour lors, Etats de la Louisiane, suivez ce glorieux exemple, qui vous est donné par vos frères Etats, et prouvez que vous êtes ce que l'on vous a considéré jusqu'à présent: un des Gouvernemens les plus républicains de l'Union.

“D'abord, je porterai mes regards sur le Brésil qui est le pays le plus vaste et où les esclaves soit en plus grand nombre que dans toute autre partie de l'Amérique. La population de ce pays n'est pas, tout-à-fait, d'un million de blancs; de quelque chose au-dessus d'un million de couleur et de plus de deux millions d'esclaves. Le Brésil a éprouvé des guerres révolutionnaires comme notre pays: de province colonial, il est devenu gouvernement indépendant. Ce pays a maintenant un rang, comme Empire du Brésil, il est peut-être le plus étendu du monde, et fait à présent la guerre à la République de Buenos Ayres; avec sa population blanche et de couleur, il a une équipe armée et mis en mer près de quarante bâtimens de guerre et levé près de cinquante mille de troupe pour se porter sur les frontières. Il présente actuellement l'imposant spectacle d'un gouvernement dont la population est en faveur des gens de couleur: ce pays est en guerre avec une république libre qui désavoue l'esclavage et qui non seulement fait tous ses efforts pour la subjuguer par la force des armes; mais pour la renverser par des proclamations incendiaires, offrant la protection et la liberté aux esclaves, comme récompense de leur révolte; mais, toutes ces tentations n'ont abouti à rien; les esclaves remplissent leurs obligations et font leur tâche paisiblement comme à l'ordinaire: fournissant des denrées et les moyens non seulement de soutenir le crédit national; mais de faire la guerre, et de repousser les colporteurs de ces proclamations incitatives. On doit attribuer ce trait de vertu et de fidélité chez l'esclave brésilien au traitement humain et juste qu'il éprouve.

La porte de la liberté est ouverte à tout esclave qui peut trouver les moyens de s'acheter. Il est vrai que peu en ont la faculté; mais l'espoir fait naître l'esprit d'économie d'industrie et d'émulation pour obtenir du mérite par une bonne conduite ce qui produit un effet gé-

également avantageux. On permet aussi aux esclaves d'avoir quelques petites propriétés, sous restriction, tel que du bétail etc.

[Translation.]

We have received a treatise on SLAVERY, by a "Slave Holder," an inhabitant of Florida.— This treatise contains much sound reasoning, and shows the fallacy of the present system concerning free persons of color. Coming from the source it does, it is entitled to full credit; and it does honor to its author, who has abandoned those sectarian principles, that colored people are incompatible with slavery. He might have added, that these people are honest, industrious and talented, and are themselves holders of property, and that they have always had the highest opinion for white brethren. Then away with these selfish principles, that are unworthy of men; let them enjoy the rights of suffrage, and let no other distinction be known but that of merit. The States of North Carolina and New-York have allowed their colored population a vote in the councils of the nation. What have they suffered by these concessions? Nothing. Then, Louisiana, follow the glorious example set by your sister States, and prove that you are, what you have been considered until now, one of the most Republican States in the Union. We shall continue to make other extracts that may prove interesting.

"First, I will take a view of Brazil, which is by far the most powerful and extensive slaveholding country in America, or in the world: its population consists of something less than one million of whites, something more than one million of free colored, and considerably over two millions slaves. It passed thro' such a war of revolution as our own, from the colonial state to that of an independent government, attended with all the violence of conflicting interests, opinions, and consequent hostility of royal and independent partisans, with their hostile armies. It now ranks, as Empire of Brazil, perhaps the most extensive government in the world, and is now carrying on war with the free Republic of Buenos Ayres; with its white free colored population, it has fitted out, manned, and sent to sea, near forty ships of war, and has raised or sent to the frontiers, near fifty thousand troops. It now affords the grand imposing spectacle of a slaveholding government, whose population preponderates in favor of color, at war with a free republic which constitutionally disavows slavery, and which not only makes every effort to subdue it by force of arms, but to subvert it by inflammatory proclamations, offering freedom and protection to the slaves as their reward for revolt. But all these disorganizing temptations have heretofore failed; the slaves maintain their obligation, and do their work peaceably as usual; furnishing produce and means not only to support the national credit, but to carry on the war, and repel the bearers of these insidious proclamations. This trait of virtue and fidelity in the Brazilian slaves, is to be attributed to humane and just treatment.

The door of liberty is open to every slave who can find the means of purchasing himself. It is true, few have the means, but hope creates a spirit of economy, industry and emulation to obtain merit by good behaviour, which has a general and beneficial effect. Slaves are

also allowed to hold some kind of property under limitation—such as stock."

L'humanité me conjure de parler en faveur des hommes que nous rebutois, que nous traitons avec autant de hauteur, et de mépris que si nous étions nés pour être leurs tyrans. Comment, depuis ces hommes existe, n'avons nous pas eu des hommes assez compatissants et assez généreux pour revendiquer les droits de la nature même, en plaidant la cause de cette multitude de personnes, qui sont notre ouvrage, puisque nous sommes leurs pères. Mais comment pouvons nous en user ainsi avec des hommes tels que nous, qui habitant la même terre, souvent le même toit, qui doivent vivre avec nous et souvent nous fermer les yeux? Il faut le dire nous sommes des tyrans.

Le premier bien dont dieu combla l'homme, il faut le dire, nous le dirons, c'est la Liberté, sa jouissance par conséquence doit être son besoin les plus sérieux.

Mais comment pouvons nous fermer les yeux? au nous d'une charte libre? que seront les lois si elles ne sont pas la conséquence exacte de la constitution? mais il est des hommes qui voudraient garder, sous des fondemens républicains, des lois créées pour un gouvernement absolu.

Ainsi donc, nous oublions l'invasion des Anglais, si nous ne sommes pas des ingrats, nos cœurs doivent palpiter pour ses souvenirs du gloire et ces braves guerriers, que nous nommons, frères, à la ligne Jackson, qui ont acquis en grandeur que le temps ne peut lui ôter. Ils sont la comme la splendeur d'un temps passé, et participant à cette solennité qui appartient à tout ce qui ne'est plus.

C'est leur front couvert de nobles cicatrices qu'on voudrait imprimer à jamais du sceau de la réprobation? mais, parlant d'eux, nous cédon's a un sentiment qui n'a pas trouvé un contradicteur, sans doute cette même bienveillance deviendra plus intéressantes et plus et plus général.

"Le premier devoir, comme le premier soin de tous législateurs qui aspirent à faire des lois pour son pays; c'est de savoir ce qui l'offense ou ce qui l'appaise; de voir où il a placé ses affections, ses penchans et son honneur."

Ces réflexions feront sans doute rire les âmes dépravées, qui n'ont ni vertu ni sentiment, et qui ne connaissent de grandeur que celle de ses méprises, on méprisant les hommes leur propre espèce; mais comme nous n'écrivons pas pour plaire à des personnages aussi stupidement orgueilleux, nous nous félicitons d'avoir rendu à l'humanité ce qui lui appartient, et d'avoir pris les intérêts de ceux qui en font partie comme nous.

UN HABITANT DE BARRATARIA.

RECENSEMENT DE 1830.

Le bill qui ordonne le recensement des États-Unis dans le cours de l'année actuelle, a reçu la signature du Président le 23 mars dernier, après avoir passé aux deux chambres du Congrès. Il sera commencé le 1^{er} de juin et devra être complété dans six mois au plus tard à compter de cette date. Il est ordonné par cette loi que le nombre de blancs du sexe masculin au-dessous de l'âge de cinq ans sera spécifié; ainsi que les blancs (dont le sexe sera distingué) entre cinq et dix ans, dix et vingt, vingt

wretch who lies mangled and writhing in torture beneath the car of Juggernaut, voluntarily tore himself away from all the twining affections of the heart, in the hope that he might win an abode in heaven as the recompense of his self-immolation;—the mother who lays her only infant in his bark of flowers, upon the bosom of the sacred Ganges, as a pure and stainless offering to her God, is sustained in the hour of that terrible sacrifice by a wild devotedness of religion, that, erring as it may be, gives proof at least of sincerity and singleness of heart. But, we—whose religion requires of us only our own happiness—whose heaven is to be won, not by devoting ourselves to wretchedness on earth, but by obedience to laws, which, like Him from whom they emanate, are full of mercy and universal love—we, with a strange perverseness, dash away from us the cup of our bliss, and refuse submission!

We profess to be a christian people—to kindle the devotion of our hearts at the altars of the unchangeable Jehovah; yet our actions turn his holiest precepts into mockery. He hath bidden us to love our brethren; but we have made them miserable slaves—degraded them into chattels—brutes—to be tasked and sold at our pleasure. He hath charged us to return good for evil; but we heap up injuries upon those who have done us no evil. The Hindoo offers himself a willing sacrifice; but we crush the hearts of thousands of our brethren beneath the car of a demon far more horrible than the eastern idol. The “voice of our brother’s blood crieth out against us from the ground”—and shall we dare to hope that we shall be held guiltless concerning it? Shall we sooth ourselves with the belief, that our iniquity will never be met by retributive justice?

LITERARY.

TIME.

*“Time is the warp of life,” he said, “oh tell
The young, the fair, the gay, to weave it well.”*

“He has lived long, who has lived well,” was the impressive sentiment we lately read on a tombstone in a country burial place. It was twilight: a few moments earlier, the merry voices of “the playful children just let loose” from the school-house, that stood a few paces distant, had thrilled in the clear evening air over the cold gray memorials of death, but the place was now deserted and silent, except the hum of the wind through the branches of the scattered cedars. It was a time for serious thought; and as we stood in that place of

graves, we gave ourselves up to the reflections it was so well calculated to excite. There lay the head of infancy, and the weary brow of the “ancient of days”—the arm of manly strength, and the flowing tresses of beauty—the pastor, amid his silent, but inattentive congregation, not as heretofore uttering the monitions of the Christian law, but with a lip despoiled of all its eloquence.

There were none among the tombstones whose inscription arrested our attention more forcibly than the one above mentioned;—it told so much of the value of our passing moments—of the rich treasure of a few hours that have been crowded with good deeds. Who would not rather die in early youth, with their parting moments brightened by the consciousness of having been useful to their fellow creatures, than to fritter away the years of a Methusaleh in vanity and nothingness? And yet how many of the hours of life are thus wasted! How many of the bitter tears of misery, which might so easily be wiped away, if each one was less devoted to a selfish pursuit after happiness, are suffered to flow on, uncared for and unregarded! The influence of Woman, in determining the amount of human felicity, is, perhaps, even more powerful than that of her brethren. They must go out, and endure the rudest buffetings of the world, in nerving their minds to a stern pursuit of their various purposes; but she, in the sheltered bower of her domestic retirement, has leisure to analyse the strange workings of the human heart, and to instil into it high principles of virtue. It should never satisfy her to be a merely brilliant and fascinating being. Her own gratification should ever be to a woman only a secondary consideration; and though her lot may thus be one of endurance and self-denial, she will learn that the endeavor to secure happiness for others, will impart it also to her own bosom. Let her look abroad upon the immensity of suffering that is poured upon the hearts of her fellow creatures from the vial of Slavery; let her behold her unoffending sisters, with a bleeding heart, and too often with lacerated limbs, driven out to their daily labor—the parent torn from the embraces of the child, the wife from her husband, the sister from the brother; let her think how many of life’s severest trials she would endure—sickness, abject poverty, nay, even death itself, rather than such a separation, and resolve at once, however long her efforts may seem to be exerted unavailingly, in endeavoring to relax the unyielding hand of oppression, never for one instant permit them, till her

well as North America, while they can find a MARKET for their human plunder. Secondly, it means that Governments, like Corporations, "have no souls"—no principle, except what squares with their interest, as they understand it. Hence the moral power of the people, alone, can be depended on to accomplish the good work of reformation; and of course, the public mind must be roused and enlightened, before much can be done to the purpose.

LAW vs. JUSTICE.

At the trial of Charlotte Haywood, in Richmond, Va. a short time since, two witnesses were produced on the part of the State, both apparently *white* females; but it being decided that they possessed a small tinge of the *mulatto*, the Court rejected their evidence. Witnesses had even to be called to prove *this*, before the Court could decide!!!—Here is "equity"—here is "justice"—here is the "*republicanism*" of our DESPOTIC criminal Code!

BURNING TO DEATH!!!

If the advocates of slavery can shew, that the most barbarous and vile people upon earth ever practiced more horrible cruelty than the following, I will admit that they are not more iniquitous.* Read this, and then—reflect on the profession we make as *republicans*! and—*Christians*!!!—It is from a paper published in Charleston, S. C. and alludes to a circumstance that occurred recently, in the neighborhood of Cedar Spring, Abbeville District.

"A Negro Male Slave was executed according to the sentence of the Magistrate's Court, by suspending or chaining him to a stake over a number of faggots or other combustible matter; and burning him to death. The offence for which he was indicted, I believe, (my information is not official) was for "grievously wounding and bruising a white person, with intent to kill."

The above mentioned paper says, this "relict of barbarity" is condemned by "a large portion of the State," (tho' it is reported that several thousand persons were so well satisfied as to attend the horrid execution.)—And here their philanthropy will probably rest, until another victim is immolated on the hellish altar!

Look out for Pirates. Capt. Babson of the schooner Alert from Port au Prince reports, that on the 6th inst. off Cape Nichola Mole, was boarded by the U. S. schr. Grampus, Mayo, who had in company a Spanish slave schooner, mounting one large gun, manned by twenty men, and having 80 slaves on board; which vessel had attempted two or three times, without success, to board an American brig. When taken, she called herself the "Brothers;" but afterwards the "Venus." Capt. Mayo reported that there were other piratical vessels off the island of Cuba. Eastern Paper.

JUSTICE OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

The following is a comment on hearing the speech of the Hon. Mr. White against the Indians.

"The rights of the Indians"—they depend upon—what?

The pleasure of States, which want their possession;

They can force the poor devils* to sell every lot, And the Union to pay at the State's own discretion.

We'll tax and we'll punish this wild savage vagrant;

We'll drive, and we'll hunt him from his forefather's grave;

We'll violate treaties—no matter how flagrant—'Tis his LAND, and we'll have it, or make him a SLAVE!

*So denominated by Mr. Forsyth, in Debate in the Senate.

Selections, Extracts, &c.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY, &c.

The Lexington (Ky.) Western Luminary is discussing the subject of Slavery. We find the first number copied into the Rock-Spring (Illinois) Pioneer, the Editor of which says, he knows many of his readers in Missouri have long been desirous that he should say something on the subject; and also that *thousands* of slave holders in Kentucky, Missouri, and other States, have been induced, from the perplexity of their own situations, for five years past, to examine the subject. And he remarks: "it is just they should have light on the subject."

The writer in the Luminary, referred to, begins by saying that the people of Kentucky *generally* feel slavery to be a burden; a yoke which is growing heavier. The holders are becoming more weary than the slaves. They are looking round for relief, with great anxiety.

The writer attempts to show that something should be done, and done speedily.

that emancipated slaves should be removed, and *can* be removed.

He next adverts to the history of Greek, Egyptian, and Roman slavery; and affirms that "*no nation has ever long held another in slavery without either,*

- 1st. *Privately assassinating them.*
- 2d. *Mixing with them; or,*
- 3d. *Being murdered by them."*

He then proceeds:—"Shall we adopt the Greek remedy? No.—The Egyptian? No.—Shall we wait for the St. Domingo result? No.—Then some measure should be devised. Is the subject unpleasant? Will it become less so by delay?"

After drawing a vivid picture of the dangers and horrors of insurrection, and after alluding to the prosperity of Ohio, whose farmers and mechanics are getting great advantages over their neighbors of Kentucky, the writer proceeds to recommend,

1. *Gradual Emancipation, by law; and,*
2. *A removal of the emancipated to Liberia.*

To the objection drawn from expense of transportation, he replies, that the emancipated man may be hired, by law, for one year, and the hire (\$ 40) will carry two persons to Monrovia.

To the objection that they will not be willing to go, he answers—"Then let them remain in slavery. But they *will*. Few will hug their bonds."

To the objection that such a law would be unconstitutional, he shows, in answer, that it would *not*. "But suppose it is unconstitutional; then our citizens should be in *haste* to make it constitutional.—What will be the condition of things in thirty years more?"

Thus reasons the Kentuckian. We would have copied at length but for want of room. The spirit of Emancipation seems gaining ground in Maryland, N. Carolina, Kentucky and Missouri.—*Nat. Philan.*

The Slavery Question in Great Britain.—The editors of the London Christian Observer, in their number for January, after asking why it is that every attempt of Christians to benefit the slaves, is frustrated, reply in the following decisive language: "The answer is plain: We keep them in the chains of slavery; refuse to let the oppressed go free; we exact their labor with stocks and imprisonment, and make them 'reap down our fields' without paying them wages for their work; & God does not, will not, bless our labors among them. The first, the very first step is to

send over, in the true spirit of the Gospel, an order that every slave shall be forth with restored to his just and inalienable rights; be a free laborer, working for honest wages, and not under the impulse of terror; and then we may hope that the Gospel will be efficiently propagated among them.

COLONY OF BLACKS.

The blacks who emigrated last summer, from this vicinity to Upper Canada, have named their colony WILBERFORCE.—They have commenced opening and improving the land, obtained by purchase, and expect to cultivate small crops this season. But they are still in great need of pecuniary assistance. Israel Lewis, the agent, under the advice of a respectable citizen of Auburn, N. Y. has addressed a letter to the clergy in that state, Pennsylvania and Ohio, requesting that collections may be made in the churches, in aid of the colony, on the 4th July next. Ought not we in Cincinnati to aid those driven out from amongst us, rather than the colony at Liberia? We hope the subject may engage the attention of the clergy of our city, and of the citizens generally.—*Cin. Gaz.*

AFRICAN INFANT SCHOOL IN BOSTON.

We rejoice that measures are in forwardness for establishing an Infant School for the children of people of color in this city. A body of respectability, and of excellent qualification, has consented to superintend the institution. Subscriptions to a considerable amount have already been made for this object, which we heartily commend to public patronage.

Boston Paper.

A SLAVEHOLDER'S IDEA OF LIBERTY!

One of the regular toasts at the Jefferson dinner, in Washington, was the following:—

"Liberty of the tongue; liberty of the press; liberty of the conscience; liberty of the hand—the last not least."

What "the last" means, nobody knows. Some say it means *gouging*: others imagine it to be a reflection on the President, for dismissing duellists from the Navy. We guess it means the liberty which John Randolph used, when he flogged his man Juba, to shew him that the Missouri Question had not dissolved the relation between master and slave.—*Ecstion Pallad.*

KIDNAPPING IN LOUISIANA.

We are glad to find that kidnappers of free blacks are pursued with as much spirit in Louisiana as they could be in any other State. In a late case a detachment of regulars and militia, pursued, rescued, and guarded home several of these stolen people of color.—*Southern Rep.*

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

également avantageux. On permet aussi aux esclaves d'avoir quelques petites propriétés, sous restriction, tel que du bétail etc.

[Translation.]

We have received a treatise on SLAVERY, by a "Slave Holder," an inhabitant of Florida.— This treatise contains much sound reasoning, and shows the fallacy of the present system concerning free persons of color. Coming from the source it does, it is entitled to full credit; and it does honor to its author, who has abandoned those sectarian principles, that colored people are incompatible with slavery. He might have added, that these people are honest, industrious and talented, and are themselves holders of property, and that they have always had the highest opinion for white brethren. Then away with these selfish principles, that are unworthy of men; let them enjoy the rights of suffrage, and let no other distinction be known but that of merit. The States of North Carolina and New-York have allowed their colored population a vote in the councils of the nation. What have they suffered by these concessions? Nothing. Then, Louisiana, follow the glorious example set by your sister States, and prove that you are, what you have been considered until now, one of the most Republican States in the Union. We shall continue to make other extracts that may prove interesting.

"First, I will take a view of Brazil, which is by far the most powerful and extensive slaveholding country in America, or in the world: its population consists of something less than one million of whites, something more than one million of free colored, and considerably over two millions slaves. It passed through such a war of revolution as our own, from the colonial state to that of an independent government, attended with all the violence of conflicting interests, opinions, and consequent hostility of royal and independent partisans, with their hostile armies. It now ranks, as Empire of Brazil, perhaps the most extensive government in the world, and is now carrying on war with the free Republic of Buenos Ayres; with its white free colored population, it has fitted out, manned, and sent to sea, near forty ships of war, and has raised or sent to the frontiers, near fifty thousand troops. It now affords the grand imposing spectacle of a slaveholding government, whose population preponderates in favor of color, at war with a free republic which constitutionally disavows slavery, and which not only makes every effort to subdue it by force of arms, but to subvert it by inflammatory proclamations, offering freedom and protection to the slaves as their reward for revolt. But all these disorganizing temptations have heretofore failed; the slaves maintain their obligation, and do their work peaceably as usual; furnishing produce and means not only to support the national credit, but to carry on the war, and repel the bearers of these insidious proclamations. This trait of virtue and fidelity in the Brazilian slaves, is to be attributed to humane and just treatment.

The door of liberty is open to every slave who can find the means of purchasing himself. It is true, few have the means, but hope creates a spirit of economy, industry and emulation to obtain merit by good behaviour, which has a general and beneficial effect. Slaves are

also allowed to hold some kind of property under limitation—such as stock."

L'humanité me conjure de parler en faveur des hommes que nous rebutois, que nous traitons avec autant de hauteur, et de mépris que si nous étions nés pour être leurs tirans. Comment, depuis ces hommes existe, n'avons nous pas eu des hommes assez compatissans et assez généreux pour revendiquer les droits de la nature même, en plaçant la cause de cette multitude de personnes, qui sont notre ouvrage, puisque nous sommes leurs pères. Mais comment pouvons nous en user ainsi avec des hommes tels que nous, qui habitant la même terre, souvent le même toit, qui doivent vivre avec nous et souvent nous fermer les yeux? Il faut le dire nous sommes des tirans.

Le premier bien dont dieu combla l'homme, il faut le dire, nous le dirons, c'est la Liberté, sa jouissance par conséquence doit être son besoin les plus sérieux.

Mais comment pouvons nous fermer les yeux? au nous d'une chaîne libre? que seront les lois si elles ne sont pas la conséquence exacte de la constitution? mais il est des hommes qui voudraient garder, sous des fondemens républicains, des lois créées pour un gouvernement absolu.

Ainsi donc, nous oublions l'invasion des Anglais, si nous ne sommes pas des ingrats, nos cœurs doivent palpiter pour ses souvenirs de gloire et ces braves guerriers, que nous nommons, frères, à la ligne Jackson, qui ont acquis en grandeur que le temps ne peut lui ôter. Ils sont la comme la splendeur d'un temps passé, et participant à cette solennité qui appartient à tout ce qui ne s'est plus.

C'est leur front couvert de nobles cicatrices qu'on voudrait imprimer à jamais du sceau de la réprobation? mais, parlant d'eux, nous cérons à un sentiment qui n'a pas trouvé un contradicteur, sans doute cette même bienveillance deviendra plus intéressante et plus et plus générale.

"Le premier devoir, comme le premier soin de tous législateurs qui aspirent à faire des lois pour son pays; c'est de savoir ce qui l'offense ou ce qui l'appaise; de voir où il a placé ses affections, ses penchans et son honneur."

Ces réflexions feront sans doute rire les âmes dépravées, qui n'ont ni vertu ni sentiment, et qui ne connoissent de grandeur que celle de ses méprises, on méprisant les hommes leur propre espèce; mais comme nous n'écrivons pas pour plaire à des personnages aussi stupidement orgueilleux, nous nous félicitons d'avoir rendu à l'humanité ce qui lui appartient, et d'avoir pris les intérêts de ceux qui en font partie comme nous.

UN HABITANT DE BARRATARIA.

RECENSEMENT DE 1830.

Le bill qui ordonne le recensement des Etats-Unis dans le cours de l'année actuelle, a reçu la signature du Président le 23 mars dernier, après avoir passé aux deux chambres du Congrès. Il sera commencé le 1^{er} de juin et devra être complété dans six mois au plus tard à compter de cette date. Il est ordonné par cette loi que le nombre de blancs du sexe masculin au-dessous de l'âge de cinq ans sera spécifié, ainsi que les blancs (dont le sexe sera distingué) entre cinq et dix ans, dix et vingt, vingt

vere in their patriotic and philanthropic endeavors to fix the public attention upon the subject, Tennessee will, ere long, (as Kentucky is nearly prepared to do,) throw off the odious badge of despotism, and take her stand among the free and prosperous States of this Union.

The writer of this letter has many opportunities of noting the events of the times in the section of country where he resides; and to philanthropic patriotism and general intelligence, he unites a clear perception and sound judgment. His statement may be depended on, as strictly accurate, and his opinions are deserving of serious consideration. His proposition for attaching the slaves (*of the present generation*) to the soil, &c. &c. is of more importance than all the colonizing schemes that were ever devised.—It is, essentially, the plan that **MUST** be ultimately adopted, if we avoid insurrection and intestine war.

"I have, during the last four years, travelled about considerably, in this State and Alabama, and made acquaintance with such persons as I met with who resided in other States, and carefully noted in my mind such observations relative to slavery as struck me with force, appearing mostly as one who felt not, and I find others feel. The southern people are alarmed for their future condition. They see that slavery cannot continue to exist, and they are fearful of the consequences of its termination. I have no doubt if Kentucky should succeed in abolishing slavery, with no alarming consequences, Tennessee would soon follow her example. But neither state is quite ripe for the business yet. The fact is, wherever free and slave labor come in fair competition, the free labor throws the other in the shade, and enfranchisement will soon be the necessary consequence. Slaves will bring nothing in market, and will be a drag on the master's hands; and as John Randolph once said on the floor of Congress, "the master will abscond from the slave." The southern people cannot tell what they are to do with all their blacks when this state of things comes on.—Louisiana is becoming alarmed for her safety, and is taking measures for stopping that once fruitful market; and doubtless other states will see the necessity of doing so too. They see no probability of the Colonizing Societies taking all their black people away, and they will bankrupt their masters if they keep them. What is to be done? There are lands, and the owners want them cultivated, which they cannot do themselves. If they would hear me, I would propose to them something like this:—

1. Let the different Colonization Societies go on in their work, and let Congress be applied to, to assist them with the national ships of war, which are not in times of peace employed to much purpose otherwise; likewise let a certain portion of the public lands be set apart to forward that particular purpose.

2. Let it be a general rule, (subject to prudential exceptions,) to Colonize none except those who will probably breed. The old ones, who will not increase, let us keep here, and death will soon rid us of them. Let all the

young ones go, and they will maintain themselves, and their increase will be in Africa, or Hayti, or wherever they are sent, without the expense of freightage. Some may object to this, as inhumane, because of its separating kindred. I would answer, that husbands and wives need not be separated, nor mothers and small children; and where the emigration is voluntary, the separation is no more than one of the very common occurrences of life, especially among the youth of England, Ireland, &c. who come to the United States; and we should not be too squeamish on this point, when the ultimate effect must be the saving of much human misery.

3. Let the southern slave-holders adopt the principal features of the old feudal system, when it assumed what the lawyers call the villain socage tenures. That is, let them let out to their slaves certain portions of their lands, for some certain services or rents in return, and let it be understood, that the negro has certain rights, which his master is not to deprive him of. Among others, let it be understood that the master cannot remove him from the land, but must sell land and negroes all together. If this plan were once extensively adopted, there is no doubt the laws would soon be made to favor the scheme, for all would see the profitableness of it, and adopt it from necessity, to compete successfully with free labor.

If I could spare the time, I would write this plan out in full detail; but my business will not at present allow of it. I have studied much on this subject, in all its bearings, and I am decidedly of opinion, that the attaching the negroes to the land, would be a master stroke of policy, no less beneficial to the master than the slave. The change would be great, but easily effected. All the information I can gather, making allowances for some particular failures, which particular disadvantages caused, goes to strengthen me in this opinion. I dare say the thought has occurred to you; and I have seen some treatises on the subject, but none that handled it exactly to my notion. The history of the progress of the law in feudal governments, gave me more grounds of reflection on this subject than any thing else. I believe if one state were to adopt the policy, it would soon become the policy of all the southern states. And if a state were once, by its legislative acts, to commence encouraging the scheme, all past experience would say that they would continue it, and that the judiciary would constantly lean in favour of freedom, until slavery would gradually disappear, like the mists of the morning, no man would be sensible how."

COMING OUT, COMING OUT!

This is what I like to see. The leading article in the "*American Spectator*" of Washington City, for the 28th inst. severely criticises the conduct of those "reckless monsters" who traffick in human beings, and "barter for their blood," in that section of country which has been consecrated to *republican freedom*. Our friend Colton is not at all lukewarm upon the subject of slave trading in the District of Columbia, latterly. He finds, no doubt, that it

well as North America, while they can find a MARKET for their human plunder. Secondly, it means that Governments, like Corporations, "have no souls"—no principle, except what squares with their interest, as they understand it. Hence the moral power of the people, alone, can be depended on to accomplish the good work of reformation; and of course, the public mind must be roused and enlightened, before much can be done to the purpose.

LAW vs. JUSTICE.

At the trial of Charlotte Haywood, in Richmond, Va. a short time since, two witnesses were produced on the part of the State, both apparently *white* females; but it being decided that they possessed a small tinge of the *mulatto*, the Court rejected their evidence. Witnesses had even to be called to prove *this*, before the Court could decide!!!—Here is "equity"—here is "justice"—here is the "*republicanism*" of our DESPOTIC criminal Code!

BURNING TO DEATH!!!

If the advocates of slavery can shew, that the most barbarous and vile people upon earth ever practiced more horrible cruelty than the following, I will admit that they are not more iniquitous.* Read this, and then—reflect on the profession we make as *republicans*! and—*Christians*!!!—It is from a paper published in Charleston, S. C. and alludes to a circumstance that occurred recently, in the neighborhood of Cedar Spring, Abbeville District.

"A Negro Male Slave was executed according to the sentence of the Magistrate's Court, by suspending or chaining him to a stake over a number of faggots or other combustible matter; and burning him to death. The offence for which he was indicted, I believe, (my information is not official) was for "grievously wounding and bruising a white person, with intent to kill."

The above mentioned paper says, this "relict of barbarity" is condemned by "a large portion of the State," (tho' it is reported that several thousand persons were so well satisfied as to attend the horrid execution.)—And here their philanthropy will probably rest, until another victim is immolated on the hellish altar!

Look out for Pirates. Capt. Babson of the schooner Alert from Port au Prince reports, that on the 6th inst. off Cape Nichola Mole, was boarded by the U. S. schr. Grampus, Mayo, who had in company a Spanish slave schooner, mounting one large gun, manned by twenty men, and having 80 slaves on board; which vessel had attempted two or three times, without success, to board an American brig. When taken, she called herself the "Brothers;" but afterwards the "Venus." Capt. Mayo reported that there were other piratical vessels off the island of Cuba. Eastern Paper.

JUSTICE OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

The following is a comment on hearing the speech of the Hon. Mr. White against the Indians.

"The rights of the Indians"—they depend upon —what?

The pleasure of States, which want their possession;

They can force the poor devils* to sell every lot, And the Union to pay at the State's own discretion.

We'll tax and we'll punish this wild savage vagrant;

We'll drive, and we'll hunt him from his forefather's grave;

We'll violate treaties—no matter how flagrant— 'Tis his LAND, and we'll have it, or make him a SLAVE!

*So denominated by Mr. Forsyth, in Debate in the Senate.

Selections, Extracts, &c.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY, &c.

The Lexington (Ky.) Western Luminary is discussing the subject of Slavery. We find the first number copied into the Rock-Spring (Illinois) Pioneer, the Editor of which says, he knows many of his readers in Missouri have long been desirous that he should say something on the subject; and also that *thousands* of slave holders in Kentucky, Missouri, and other States, have been induced, from the perplexity of their own situations, for five years past, to examine the subject. And he remarks: "it is just they should have light on the subject."

The writer in the Luminary, referred to, begins by saying that the people of Kentucky *generally* feel slavery to be a burden; a yoke which is growing heavier. The holders are becoming more weary than the slaves. They are looking round for relief, with great anxiety.

The writer attempts to show that something should be done, and done speedily:

statement of facts is worth a thousand of the vague arguments, used by the enemies of Hayti, to discourage the colored people from removing thither to enjoy the blessings of liberty and equal rights. In vain may the exclusive friends of African Colonization, or the unblushing advocates of perpetual slavery, resort to the various means of casting odium upon that government, and misrepresenting the state of things generally there, when the truth shall be elicited in this way. I again positively assert, that there is no place in the world, known to us at present, where the colored man can have greater opportunities to acquire riches, or will be more completely invested with the rights and privileges of civil and religious freedom, than in the Republic of Hayti.

The following is the Extract of a letter to the editor of this work, above alluded to. It bears date 5th July, 1830. I will observe, in addition, that I have conversed with the Captain of the vessel that brought this communication, who saw the wife of Gordon just before he sailed, and she fully confirmed the statement in the letter.

"I cannot close this letter without giving you some account relative to the people whom you settled at l'Arcahai. My information is derived from Mr. & Mrs. Gordon and Mr. Russell themselves. They are extremely well contented with their lot, and now enjoying a comparative degree of happiness. Their gardens [lots containing several acres,] are fenced in; they have about 2,000 Plantain-trees in bearing,* and several thousand Cotton-trees planted, which will shortly yield them a good crop, together with every species of ground provisions. Mrs. Gordon attends the markets of l'Arcahai and Port-au-Prince for the sale of their products. At the latter place she disposes of them for cash, and and at the former, as she cannot always obtain specie for them, she exchanges them for other necessities of life, of which they may stand in need. They all declare that they are perfectly satisfied and thankful for the blessings they enjoy."

* Few persons in this country have a correct idea of the great profit arising from the culture of the plantain, or banana. A single plant will produce fruit worth from 25 to 57½ annually, for several years, with little or no labor other than gathering and taking it to market, after making every necessary allowance for ordinary failures in maturing &c. I have been informed that the product of a single stalk frequently sells for 50, and even 75 cents, in the large market towns;—and two stalks, from the same root, often arrive at maturity within a year. The labor of planting, gathering, marketing, &c, is not more than that of a hill of green corn.

FREE AND SLAVE POPULATION.

According to the recent Census, the population of the United States has greatly increased

within the last ten years. Some alarming statements will be given in future numbers of this work, relative to the increase of the colored people. The following shows the number of the different classes in Baltimore, both in the years 1820 and 1830. It will be seen that the United States Slave Trade keeps down the number of slaves. But as much as we may desire the reduction of that class, by proper means, none but the savage-hearted can approve this mode of effecting it.

Population of Baltimore in 1830.

"Free white males,	29,877	}	61,518
Do. do. females,	31,641		
Free col'd. males,	6,135	}	14,887
Do. do. females,	8,752		
Male slaves,	1,660	}	4,121
Female do.	2,461		
	80,526		80,526

The census of 1820, was as follows:—

Free whites,	48,055.	Gain 28 per cent.
Free colored	10,326.	Gain 44 " "
Slaves	4,357.	Loss 6 " "

Total 62,738. Gain 28 " " "

A NEW PROPOSITION.

I have had a brief conversation with the gentleman whose name is signed to the following notice, and have no doubt of his sincerity and honesty. I had no acquaintance with him previous to his calling upon me with a request for its insertion. The proposition is an important one, be his ulterior views what they may. I hope that I shall be able to make the public more fully acquainted therewith, through the medium of this paper, when the next number appears.

NOTICE.

BE it known to persons owning female slaves in the city of Baltimore, of age 14 to 20 years, and willing to free them for a moderate price, this will be paid by the subscriber, on being shown a copy of the following certificate,

I, A. B. living in _____ street, and owner of Slave _____ am willing to set her free on receiving the sum of _____ to me paid.

Done in the presence of two }
neighbours witnessing. }

This certificate to be delivered to the emancipated slave.

The subscriber will be found, at all hours, at the Store of Cruse & Wilson, Franklin street.

Having no knowledge of the price of slave property, I applied to a friend, who gave me a scale of prices, which he said was moderate, and which I am willing to pay, viz:—

For a female slave, 14 years of age,	\$80.
do. " 15 " "	70.
do. " 16 " "	80.
do. " 17 " "	90.
do. " 18 to 20 " "	100.

THOMAS CRUSE.

Baltimore, 18th August, 1830.



UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, BALTIMORE, AT \$1 PER ANNUM IN ADVANCE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 5. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES] AUGUST, 1830. [WHOLE NUMBER 257. VOL. XI.

PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

It will have been perceived, from an advertisement on the covers of the last and present numbers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, that the editor of this work has once more essayed to open a mercantile establishment, in the city of Baltimore, for the sale of such articles, *produced by free labor*, as are considered the staple commodities of our slave-holding sections of country.

My sentiments on the subject of preferring the use of the productions of Free Labor, have been frequently expressed, and need not a recapitulation here. If I can by this means succeed in turning the attention of a few more of the citizens of this Republic to the evils of slavery; and if I can also thereby throw any additional light on the subject of the practicability and safety of emancipation, my object will be attained.

It is not my intention, at this time, to enter into argument to shew the propriety of the undertaking to which I now allude. But with the view of furnishing the reader with a few of the sentiments of others, the short article below is inserted. Anon, I shall have more to say upon the subject.

The "*Edinburg Review*," for October, 1827, contains a brief notice of a pamphlet, issued from the Press in England, entitled: "*A short Review of the Slave Trade and Slavery, with considerations on the benefit which would arise from cultivating Tropical Productions by Free Labor.*" The following extract is very important. The "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*" has firmly maintained this doctrine from its commencement. It is gratifying to perceive that correct ideas are beginning to prevail.

"The wise and philanthropic persons who struggled so gloriously for the abolition of the

Slave Trade, were enemies, of course, to the state of slavery generally, and must have looked forward to its total abolition as the natural consummation of their system. But aware of the great influence of the West India proprietors, they feared that their whole scheme might be crushed in its outset, if they had ventured, in the beginning, to propose so extensive a reformation. They confined themselves, therefore, to the abolition of that detestable traffic; and trusted, we fear upon very insufficient grounds, to the effect of that measure in mitigating, and at last extinguishing altogether, the miseries of servitude. Experience, however, has shown how completely this reliance has been disappointed; and instead of finding that the abolition of the trade has led to the mitigation and gradual extinction of slavery,—the best informed advocates of the negroes are now compelled to look to the mitigation of slavery, as their best security for the substantial repression of the trade. This is distinctly stated in the 19th Report of the *African Institution*. "As in the abolition of the Slave Trade," they say, "we originally sought the mitigation of slavery, so are we now driven to consider whether any other efficient means are left us, than that of reversing our course of proceeding; and whether we must not look, henceforward, to the mitigation and extinction of slavery, as our only security for the abolition of the Slave Trade. We cannot, unfortunately, compel other nations to abandon it; and it seems too probable that they are not to be persuaded; but, by a determined encouragement of free labor, we may make it not worth pursuing."

PROGRESS OF THE GOOD WORK IN TENNESSEE.

The following extract of a letter to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, from a very intelligent gentleman in the State of Tennessee, shows that the cause of humanity and justice is gaining ground, and that the public mind is becoming more and more enlightened, and alarmed, relative to the abominations of the system of slavery. If the advocates of Universal Emancipation, in that State, perse-

After James had arrived at the age of manhood, he married a young woman in the neighborhood, of good character, & respectable family, by whom, however, he had no issue. Soon after settling on a farm of his own, which was a few miles from the paternal residence, his usefulness became conspicuous in the surrounding vicinity, not only as a neighbor in common, but he was often employed, though of very limited literary acquirements, in drawing the several kinds of instruments of writing needed by his neighbors in their various contracts. To this may be added, that by his industry he had acquired some knowledge of the art of surveying, which enabled him to be eminently useful in ascertaining the boundary lines of his neighbors' lands, and settling differences, which otherwise might have ended in costly suits at law. As a farther proof of his usefulness, the frequency of his being appointed Executor of the last wills and Testaments of deceased persons, show in what high estimation his integrity & skill were held by those who had confided their estates to his care.

Much more might be advanced upon this head; but I shall pass on to the more prominent parts of his character as a philanthropist, and zealous advocate for the *rights of man*. Not content with promoting peace & happiness in the narrow limits of his little neighborhood, his capacious mind extended its energies, and embraced in its commiseration, the degraded and enslaved descendants of Africa, held in bondage in the republican United States of America. Here was a field sufficiently spacious for the exercise of his unbounded philanthropy, one might suppose, but he desired nothing less than the happiness of the whole human race. Although he wished for the abolition of slavery in every place, yet the slaves in his own State demanded his more particular attention. To promote the gradual, yet final emancipation of these, he labored with an assiduity & zeal, tempered with prudence, not exceeded, perhaps, by any philanthropist on the continent.

Soon after the manumission society of Tennessee was organized, he became a member of that Institution; and at the first Convention, held on the 21st. of November, in the year 1815, James Jones was unanimously elected President thereof for one year; which station, by successive re-elections, he continued to fill to the end of his life. He considered slavery to

be not only a moral, but also a political evil—contrary to the dictates of the christian religion, and a deadly enemy to the peace & prosperity of our republican government, for the honor and safety of which, he ever appeared to be anxious.

He made considerable sacrifices, both of time and money, in promoting the cause which he had espoused; and in the infancy of the Institution, especially, met with much opposition, and with many insults, from the votaries of oppression, which, instead of intimidating him, served but to add more vigor to his mind, and stimulated him to pursue his object with greater energy, believing it to be the cause of Heaven, and that the Omnipotent would ultimately bring it to a happy issue. He did not, however, live to witness the accomplishment of his wishes; but he had the pleasure to behold the principle of *freedom*, which he had been laboring to promote, in the course of fourteen years, spread itself over this extensive continent, with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of time; and not only in our own country did he behold the germs of *liberty* progressing towards maturity, but enjoyed the pleasing intelligence of the Abolition of Slavery in Spanish America, and of the exertions which the British government is making to eradicate the same curse from its dominions.

James Jones was not a man of eloquence; but he was possessed of a strong mind and a penetrating intellect; and next to his own salvation, the freedom of the oppressed, and the happiness of his fellow probationers on earth, lay nearest his heart. He was an approved member of the Society of Friends, and labored to adorn the profession which he made with a corresponding life and conversation.

Of his estate, which however was not large, he bequeathed a part to the manumission cause, to be applied to the defraying of the contingent expenses of the Institution, over which he had long presided.

After an illness of about four weeks, which he bore with resignation to the divine disposal, he quietly departed this life at his own house, early in the morning of the first day of February 1830, and in about the sixty-fifth year of his age. The loss of so useful a member of society will be sensibly felt by the community, and more especially by those interested in his benevolent exertions, who, in him, have lost a friend indeed.

THOMAS DEAN.

April 22d 1830.

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE WEST.

We are much gratified to find that a spirit, favorable to the interests of emancipation, seems to be rapidly extending over the western sections of our country. A spinning manufactory has been lately established by C. W. Starr, of Indiana, in which *Free Labor Cotton* alone is employed.—For want of suitable machinery, he has not yet been able to convert any of it into the fabric; and until circumstances favor the erection of power looms, we understand he wishes to dispose of his yarn to weavers who would be willing to undertake its manufacture, unmixed with other cotton.

Those whose wishes are favorable to the system of Free Labor, and the cause of Emancipation, would do well to afford him such encouragement as might secure a permanent footing to his establishment, and a wide extension of its usefulness, by the addition of other machinery. It is stated that Free Cotton of a good quality, raised in Illinois and Indiana, may be procured, in large quantities, in the Cincinnati market.—We should suppose there would be considerable inducement for weavers to offer their assistance, as an increasing desire to procure the manufactures of Free Cotton is evidently manifest; and no doubt the demand would be much more extensive, could they be obtained without the additional cost of transportation.

FREE LABOR.

A paragraph, from the "Fredericksburg Arena," which has been copied into a number of other papers, in speaking of the Philadelphia "Free Cotton Association," expresses some doubt as to "where," in our free country, cotton could be obtained untouched by the hands of slavery. For the satisfaction of those who may be apprehensive of deception, we subjoin the following copies of certificates, testifying to the purity of the material employed in the late manufactures of the society. That made use of previously, was received from the same source.

Certificates.

We do hereby certify, that the 30 bales of cotton, sent by us to Morris Longstreth, of Philadelphia, marked F, and numbered from 1 to 30,

is, exclusively, cotton raised by free white persons, or at least by free laborers, and that no cotton, raised by slaves, has been mixed therewith.

NATHAN HUNT JR.

for Hunt & Stockton.

Third No. 23d, 1830.

I do certify, that the 30 bales of cotton, sent by Hunt & Stockton to Morris Longstreth, is according to the above certificate, *exclusively the product of Free Labor*; as I personally attended to the picking of it.

NATHAN HUNT.

3rd No. 23d, 1830.

It is also questioned whether the plan of proceeding, adopted by the Association, is of a nature to operate beneficially on the condition of the slaves. We should suppose no unprejudiced mind would hesitate for an instant to answer in the affirmative. We are convinced the system of Free Labor, as it is one of the most quiet, is also one of the most efficient, auxiliaries of Emancipation. And most thoroughly are we persuaded that to give freedom to the slaves would advantage their masters, in a degree inferior only to the benefit derived from the negroes themselves. The superiority of Free Labor does not rest upon unsupported theory—it has been tested by fair experiment, and found by far the most profitable. The society of which we speak, wishes not to injure the interests of any individual—nor can it interfere with the true interests of any one, to hold out inducements for them to return from a path of injustice to one of rectitude. It is but reasonable to suppose that the persons who are now slaves, would labor as cheerfully and industriously, when disencumbered, if not of the weight of actual fetters yet of the heavy sense of degradation and thrall, which presses upon their hearts and weighs down the energies of their nature with a dull lethargy.

AMERICAN COURTESY.

We are gravely assured by Cooper, in his "Travelling Bachelor," that "America is the Paradise of women"—that no where else do they meet with the same degree of uniform respectful attention and delicacy as in our own country. This sounds well—but a perusal of the following paragraph has rather a tendency to introduce some strongly incongruous ideas into the mental picture of a paradise. We have not usually considered *branding, whipping, and imprisonment*, either as tokens of peculiar respect, or very intimately associated with the enjoyment of superlative felicity. If it is so, we may congratulate ourselves that at least a portion of our sex is so well provided with the material for happiness; nor can we but admire the generous spirit of courtesy and self-denial

which has induced the southern law-givers to reserve for their helpless sisters so large a proportion of those *paradise* blessings.

"A distinction is made, by express law in South Carolina, between males and females convicted of clergyable offences. Both are to be marked in the hand, upon the brawn of the left thumb, with a *burning hot iron*, having an M or T upon it, according to the nature of the crime. But a man is to be discharged *without further punishment*. A female may be whipped, placed in the stocks, or imprisoned, for the space of a year afterwards, at the discretion of the court."

Strouds Sketches of the Slave Laws.

"AN APPEAL TO THE HEARTS AND CONSCIENCES OF BRITISH WOMEN."

This pamphlet is well calculated to answer the purpose for which it was intended, of rousing the ladies of Britain into reflection on the subject of slavery. The circulation of small tracts of this kind, in a form likely to attract the attention of general readers, is what we very much wish to see promoted by our own countrywomen. We are confident that it would be productive of very great advantages, by keeping before the mind a subject, from which it is but too ready to turn with indifference, unless incited to attention by continued efforts.

The females of America are greatly behind their sisters of England in general exertions to alleviate the condition of their enslaved brethren, and to promote their emancipation from bondage. Yet the one is separated by a broad expanse of ocean from the sight and knowledge of the sufferings of the slave, and the other beholds the unchristian system disgracing the bosom of her native land. It is difficult to account for the apathy so long displayed, and that still so generally prevails, upon this momentous subject. It seems as though the voice of the thunder and the earthquake were required to awaken the "heart and conscience" to a knowledge or a conviction of the guilt attendant upon this system, and the thought that all who are not actively opposed to it, are individually lending it their support.

In England, every means is made use of, no exertions are spared, to engage the sentiments of the people on the side of humanity. Here all is apathy, torpor, and indifference. In the British Parliament measures are adopted for meliorating the condition of the slaves—in our states it is enacted that their fetters shall be made to press more heavily. There, the government recommends that means for the "education and religious instruction of the slave" shall be provided—here, to attempt such instruction is made a criminal offence. Can it then be said that there is no cause to appeal to the "hearts

and consciences" of American Women on the subject of slavery? Should they not endeavor to spread and deepen upon the minds of others a conviction of its guilt? and should they not resort to the obvious method of opposing it by partaking only of the products of free labor? Reason and religion at once teach us that the answer should be, yes!

We will proceed in the words of the above mentioned "Appeal"; they are forcible and deserving of serious attention.

"When we consider that slavery involves the worst extremes of crime and suffering,—every thing, in its agents, that can most debase and corrupt the human character,—every thing, in its victims which can most degrade and embitter human existence;—when we consider the physical, moral and spiritual blessings which its extinction would confer;—that to the benighted, brutified negro, it would open the door of christian light, would give free access to the means of grace, the sources of knowledge, the opportunities of civilization;—that from his ruthless task-masters it would withdraw the incentives to oppression and cruelty, expel the poison from their moral atmosphere, banish that malignant agency which converts the milk of human kindness into corrosive gall, and transforms man into a monster of cruelty;—when we consider the heavy weight of national guilt which it would remove, the wide channels for national industry which it would open,—to what object of equal moment can we solicit the attention of our country women?"

"On this long agitated and familiar theme we intreat them to be satisfied with no superficial glances; we intreat them to analyze its nature, to investigate its consequences, to bring it to the test of the broad and universally acknowledged principles of right and wrong, to try it by the common standard of justice, the general sense of humanity,—above all by the spirit and laws of christianity, and they will find it the most flagrant and impious violation of them all;—they will see that if there be one relative duty in which the common feelings of humanity, the innate sense of justice, the obligations of religion, are most strongly concentrated, it is that of standing not only aloof from all participation in this national crime, but of combining their best exertions for its speedy extinction, through the simple, rational, and certain means of rejecting its produce."

"Nothing is stationary. In the moral as well as natural world there is incessant activity. A secret progress of improvement or deterioration is constantly going forward. Our intellectual, moral, and physical health are always fluctuating. To the increase or decline of the latter, there are obvious limits, but to the improvement or deterioration of mind and moral character, there appears to be more. We may reach the sublimest heights of virtue, or sink into the profoundest depths of depravity, and approximate towards one or the other by a gradual and scarcely perceptible progress. By doing, encouraging, or conniving at what is obviously evil, the mind becomes insensibly assimilated to its nature; the moral discernment becomes vitiated, the sensibility blunted, the conscience seared. By standing aloof from all participations in unrighteous-

ness, by discouraging, and, to the utmost of our ability resisting it, the moral perceptions are quickened, the capacity invigorated to love and to 'cleave unto that which is good,'—to 'abhor' and 'to eschew that which is evil.'

"We cannot close this appeal to the understandings, hearts, and consciences of our enlightened country women, without adverting to the malignant influence which slavery exerts over the female character. The Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter abounds with appalling illustrations of this nature. In a recent number a very striking one is recorded.

"When his Majesty's ships, employed in surveying the coasts of Africa, were at Mozambique in 1823, the officers were introduced to the family of senior d'Almeydra, a merchant of the first influence in that settlement: they all agreed that Donna Sophia his wife, was the most superior woman they had seen since they had left England: before her marriage she was said to have possessed amiable dispositions as well as considerable talents and polished manners. Captain Owen, the leader of the expedition, expressing to senior d'Almeydra his detestation of slavery, the senior replied, you will not be long here before you will change your sentiments. Look at my Sophia there: before she would marry me, she made me promise to give up the slave trade.

When we first settled here she was continually interceding for the slaves, and she constantly wept while I punished them, and now she is among them from morning till night, and stands by and sees them punished!"

"Can our benevolent country women, then, engage in any design so patriotic, so philanthropic, so christian, as that of striving to avert the long suspended judgement, the justly to be feared signal punishment of their infatuated country, by combining their best exertions to remove the heaviest weight of her national guilt, to expel her deepest crime, her broadest disgrace?"

"If women of cultivated minds, of leisure and influence, decline to exert these talents in awakening the attention and influencing the practice of their less enlightened country women on this momentous question;—if women professing godliness stand aloof, take no decided, active part in this righteous contest; if they withhold good!—good so substantial, so extensive, 'from those to whom it is' so emphatically 'due, when it is in their power to do it'—so easily,—will it not be sin—sin of no light shade or venial character?"

COLORED PEOPLE IN OHIO.

Our readers will bear in mind that, under an existing law of the State of Ohio, the authorities of Cincinnati lately gave orders for the expulsion of a large number of colored persons from that city. The cruelty of the mandate, drew from many able pens the most pointed censure. Among the writers who have treated upon the subject, the author of the following Address is deserving of particular notice. This Address was originally published in the Cincinnati Gazette.

A FEMALE ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

In contemplating their circumstances, I am led to deplore the sorrowful condition into which an immediate expulsion must necessarily involve them. Many of them are very honest and in-

dustrious, but have not the means to carry themselves and their little effects beyond the limits prescribed; much less to subsist while they seek employment, or raise a crop of the quickest growth: therefore, if hastily expelled they will be subject to hunger and cold, or be forced to beg or steal. I would not wish to complain, of the law or presume to judge of its justice, but call on humanity to exert her influence in their case. Let us reflect for a moment: are we not all under the protection of the one universal Parent of heaven and earth, and objects of his mercy? why then should they not be allowed such privileges as the white people, to live in a free state, and enjoy the rights of liberty of conscience, to work, buy and sell, which would, in my view, have the tendency to make them honest. But we debar them of this privilege, and threaten those that employ them, with a heavy fine, and they to be banished. O how cruel. Just look at the consequences! What must it necessarily lead to?—the poor African must starve or steal. O then what feeling, reflecting mind, could complain of them for trying to live honestly.

Oh, sayeth the language that salutes my soul, who is there that could eat the bread of oppression, or rob the hireling of his money? It is beyond the art of my pen to describe to my fellow citizens the agonizing feeling that passes through my mind while I contemplate their unhappy situation; but I am loath to believe that there are any so unfeeling that would fall upon, chastise and drive them into the wilderness, because they have a skin not coloured like our own. This would be ingratitude to God, whose they are, and from whom we all receive the blessings and comforts we enjoy. It would be an awful violation of that sacred maxim, "to do unto others as we would have others to do unto us." Many of them were brought here without their will or power, and many others have been induced by the whites to come—and while we enjoy our freedom, and boast of our protection, how can we oppress the unfortunate, or relieve not the distressed.

To deprive them of employment, is but to deprive them of the means of subsistence.—I do not see how we, as christians, can look upon them with indifference. As human beings, subject to the feelings of humanity, I cannot see how any can proceed against them, till a place be prepared for them comfortably to retreat to. There is land sufficient for the accommodation of them all, if the law subjected them to be removed. Then why not grant a portion and privilege to profit them. I now ask the humane and liberal minded to reflect on the subject, devise the most judicious plan for their comfort, relieve their agitated minds, and mitigate their grief. And my earnest supplication is, that such a subject may be guided by best wisdom and blest with success, without invading the common rights of mankind, or staining our characters with acts of inhumanity.

Whether this little scrawl will happily meet with a cordial approbation in the minds of the public in general, I am willing to leave and trust to the generous and liberal minded, and those of superior talents to my own, for sympathy on this all important occasion.

A FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

"I cannot do it," never accomplished any thing—"I'll try," has done wonders.

that Mr. Brougham gave notice, in the British House of Commons, on the 28th of June, that he should make a motion, at an early day, on the subject of Colonial Slavery. "Now comes the tug of [mental] war."—Brougham is a host of himself.

EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTURE.

Let the cotton planting slave-holders—the "nullification" gentry of the South—look out! A rival in business is presenting himself in the "Land of Egypt"! The following is important. Egypt was once a land of SLAVERY; but the inhuman system was abolished there, and the descendants of the slave-holders in that region are about to teach our Southern State-right men and general *Læe* "nullifiers" a lesson in the science of economy, that may be of essential service to them. I shall, ere long, take a review of the ground occupied by these furious monocrats and oligarchs. I have long believed that all the frothy ebullitions respecting the Tariff, &c. &c. may be traced to the grand sink of corruption, SLAVERY.

From the Charleston Courier of July 23.

EGYPTIAN COTTON.—A mercantile friend has left at our office, a sample of Egyptian Cotton, produced from American Sea Island seed. This sample was received yesterday, from a merchant of this city, now in Liverpool, where the lot of which it was a part, was sold at 9 1-2d per lb. equal to 14 1-2 cents net in this city, and yielding a fair profit to the shipper at that price. We are informed that this description of Cotton is lessening the consumption of low quality Sea Islands, as the spinners will not give the prices at which the latter is held. This circumstance taken in connexion with the reduced consumption of fine Sea Island Cotton, owing to fancy silk goods nearly altogether taking place of fine muslins, offers but little encouragement to our Sea Island planters.

THE COLUMBIAN STAR.

This is a *professedly* religious paper, issued weekly, in the city of Philadelphia. It is conducted by W. T. Brantly, an officiating Baptist preacher. I have nothing to do with his religious tenets. There are, to my knowledge, many, of his profession, who are zealously engaged in promoting our cause. But when I meet with a "wolf in sheep's clothing"—an unblushing opponent of African emancipation, and supporter of Indian oppression, in the guise of a follower of Jesus—I care not what he professes, as to matters of religious faith;—he is a fit object for censure.

In a late number of the Star, the editor quotes from the prospectus of a paper, issued by another Baptist preacher, the following paragraph, alluding to one particular subject upon which the work is designed to treat:—

"To disquisitions upon the treatment of African slaves, as preparatory to their emancipation, and exaltation from their present degraded condition."

Upon this, the pious editor of the Star remarks:—

"Our friends in the slave holding States must beware how they introduce this work. It may prove to them the precursor of ruin."

Now what sort of a "teacher of religion" can we suppose this man to be? He can "look with composure" (if not "on blood and carnage") on the corporal punishment, the mental debasement, the general ignorance, degradation and distress of the African race, without making, perhaps, or even approving of, a solitary effort to better their condition! If ever one class of persons were calculated to do infinitely more harm than another, in leading the people astray, and inviting the awful judgments of Heaven upon a guilty land, it is those who, under the sanctity of religion, practise the arts of oppression, and delay the administration of justice. Charity hath little in store for them; and condemnation should direct its most pointed shafts towards their oppressive conduct.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Again I am under the necessity of postponing the insertion of several communications, which are designed for this work. The well written essay of "Consistency," together with several other articles from the pens of various advocates of the good cause, will appear in the next number. My friends must excuse the delay in attending to their requests, in this respect, as it is impossible to crowd the *twentieth part* in this work that it were desirable to insert. Editorial matter shares the same fate with the rest. A number of long articles, and short ones too, are laid on the table.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

A meeting of the First Branch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, will be held at the School Room of Mr. G. W. Steen, over the office of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, on Friday evening, September 3d, 1830, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

The members of the Eastern Branch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, will meet at the School Room of ——— Reese, Exeter Street, O. T. at half past 7 o'clock, on Saturday evening, the 4th of September next.

Correspondence.

[The suggestions contained in the following communication should command immediate attention. It is to be hoped that the friends of our cause will be "up and doing" in season. Ed.]

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MR. EDITOR: I wish to call the attention of our citizens to the subject of renewing their petitions to the Legislature

of this state at the ensuing session, for the gradual abolition of slavery. The following form of a memorial has been printed, and circulated in a few places. I would suggest the propriety of paying immediate attention to this subject, as the season for active labor in this important undertaking is advancing. JEFFERSON.

Baltimore, August, 1830.

MEMORIAL

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maryland.

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Baltimore, respectfully represents:

That in the opinion of your memorialists, negro slavery, as it at present exists, is the greatest political and moral evil that affects our State; and your memorialists also believe that the time has arrived when it is incumbent on the Legislature of the State to adopt measures with a view to its prospective and gradual extermination.

That slavery is a violation of natural rights, is admitted by all—its pernicious influence on the public welfare is too apparent to need illustration. The only questions, therefore, upon which there can be a divided opinion, are the *time* and the *mode* of applying a remedy. In the opinion of your memorialists, the *present* has already been, and will ever be, the best time to commence the business of remedy and reform. If a system of remedy and reform had been commenced fifty years ago, the evil of slavery at this time would have been nearly cured—and the longer it shall now be procrastinated, the longer will the State of Maryland be *cursed* with slavery.

The only effectual mode, in the opinion of your memorialists, of eradicating slavery from the State, is by the passage of a law fixing a period after which all children born of slaves shall be free at a certain age. This remedy will be effectual in from half to three fourths of a century,—it will also be so gradual as to be scarcely perceptible, and would produce no sudden or violent shock to the body politic—it would do no injustice even to the imaginary rights of slave owners, inasmuch as they have no interest in or right to unborn or uncreated human beings; and the time of their becoming free may be fixed at such an age as will enable them by their labor to compensate their masters for raising them.

Your memorialists believe this to be the most equitable, as well as the only

mode of eradicating slavery from the State. Emigration, whether by means of the domestic slave trade (a horrible and disgraceful traffic) or colonization in Africa, never has diminished, and probably never will diminish the number of slaves in the State. The only effect of annually removing a small portion of the present stock from the State, is to stimulate their natural increase, by creating a demand for them.

Your memorialists therefore pray, that the Legislature will pass a law, declaring that all children hereafter born of slaves shall be free, the males at twenty-eight, And females at twenty-five years of age. And as in duty bound, your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

Biographical Sketches.

JAMES JONES.

It will be recollected that some notice was taken of the distinguished philanthropist, whose name stands at the head of this article, in the first number of the present volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It is with pleasure that I now insert the following memoir, from the pen of another pure, ardent, and persevering laborer in the holy "vineyard" of humanity and justice. Perhaps there is not a person now living whose mind is more sincerely devoted to the important subject than his. He was the near neighbor, intimate friend, and able coadjutor of the subject of this biographical notice, through the whole of his benevolent career; and no one is better qualified to speak knowingly of his virtuous labors. As he justly observes, much more might be said in his praise; but our present limits will not permit.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

James Jones, late President of the Manumission society of Tennessee, from the best information I have been able to obtain, was born in Guilford county, North Carolina, about the year 1765. From thence his Father removed to the (now) State of Tennessee, in the early stage of its settlement, and procured a tract of land in Greene County, on which he settled with his young and rising family.

d'après vos lois, être qualifié pour occuper une place dans les conseils de cette puissante république, dont l'état du Mississippi forme une des parties inhérentes; et je ne le cède à aucun autre citoyen, en ce qui concerne la dévotion aux lois, et à la constitution du pays. Si après avoir pesé mes prétentions, et les avoir comparées avec impartialité avec celles des candidats qui me seront opposés, vous vous prononcez pour moi, je vous servirai. je n'ai d'animosité contre aucun de mes frères blancs qui entreront dans les rangs contre moi, mais je vous déclare sincèrement que je désire réunir vos suffrages à l'élection prochaine d'un représentant au Congrès des Etats-Unis.

(Signé) MUSHULATUBA.
Nation des Choctaws, 1^{er} avril 1830.

BLACK LIST.

MORE OUTRAGEOUS VILLAINY!

Within a few days, I have received two letters—one from Wilmington, in Delaware, and the other from the western country—requesting aid in detecting certain persons engaged in kidnapping and enslaving free people of color. The business is in a progressive train of investigation; and the culprits shall as surely be publicly exposed, as convicted. In the one case, the scene of operations is in Loudoun County Virginia; in the other, Annapolis, Maryland. If we fail to punish these gentry by the Courts of Law, the Court of the PRESS shall do its office.

THE BURNING, AGAIN.

A correspondent of the Charleston Observer undertakes to palliate the barbarity alluded to in this work for last month, relative to the burning of a negro alive, by summing up the amount of provocation! He says;—

"In exonerating the court, I must state that the criminal received as fair a trial, and as humane treatment as any criminal could receive, never even being threatened in order to extort the truth; and with regard to the execution, there was no pains spared to render it quick; to render it easy was impossible. He was chained to a stake, but not suspended."

Is this to be considered a sufficient excuse for the continuance of a barbarous practice in the present enlightened age?—and are the religious periodicals of the day to become the special pleaders for its toleration! If so, they will be calculated to do more harm than all the "infidel publications," periodical or otherwise, that have appeared since the days of Voltaire and his deistical contemporaries. Instead of attempting to soften down the barbarous features of this horrible statute, by pleading the enormity of the offences that it takes cognizance of, the Press is bound, by every consideration of propriety, to thunder denunciation loud and thrilling against

it. And religious professing editors, at least, are awfully culpable if they pursue a different course.

Here we have a delectable piece of information, in the shape of an advertisement, published in a Baltimore paper. It shews that EVERY MAN IN THIS STATE is concerned in negro selling! Will this assertion startle some of our friends? I hope it may.

MARYLAND PENITENTIARY,

—, 1830.

WILL be sold at this Institution, on MONDAY next, [I shall not mention the date.] at 11 o'clock, A. M. a NEGRO WOMAN, aged about 43 years—the property of Baltimore county.

P—4t.

KIDNAPPING.—Christopher Woodward, of Raleigh, (N. C.) has been committed to jail, in that place, charged with having seduced and stolen a negro man, the property of Durrell Rogers, with the intention of selling him and appropriating the proceeds to his own use. The punishment affixed to this crime is death!—*South. Pap.*

MORE OF IT!—we are credibly informed that an outrageous act of kidnapping was committed in Illinois, a few weeks since, by one Stephen Smith, and several accomplices upon two black boys, named Harry Dick, and William. Suits for freedom had been brought in the Circuit Court here, by Harry Dick and William, against Stephen Smith, some two years ago. They were strenuously litigated; when, after several trials, they were finally decided in April last, in favour of the slaves, who were declared by the judgment of the court, forever free from Stephen Smith and all persons claiming under him. A few weeks ago, Harry Dick and William left the place for Tazewell county, in Illinois, and were pursued and seized by Smith, and put on board a steam-boat and taken to the South, whether to Kentucky or further down the river, is not known.

St. Louis Republican.

VIOLENT ASSAULT.—Yesterday, a white man, named Michael Jefferson, was fully committed for trial, charged with having thrown a coloured woman named Rose Clerk, out of a two story window, in Mott street, in consequence of some altercation. The woman is still living and likely to recover.—*N. Y. Paper.*

Catharine Haywood, the white woman charged with the murder of Lucy Johnson, a free mulatto girl, was tried before

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE WEST.

We are much gratified to find that a spirit, favorable to the interests of emancipation, seems to be rapidly extending over the western sections of our country. A spinning manufactory has been lately established by C. W. Starr, of Indiana, in which *Free Labor Cotton* alone is employed.—For want of suitable machinery, he has not yet been able to convert any of it into the fabric; and until circumstances favor the erection of power looms, we understand he wishes to dispose of his yarn to weavers who would be willing to undertake its manufacture, unmixed with other cotton.

Those whose wishes are favorable to the system of Free Labor, and the cause of Emancipation, would do well to afford him such encouragement as might secure a permanent footing to his establishment, and a wide extension of its usefulness, by the addition of other machinery. It is stated that Free Cotton of a good quality, raised in Illinois and Indiana, may be procured, in large quantities, in the Cincinnati market.—We should suppose there would be considerable inducement for weavers to offer their assistance, as an increasing desire to procure the manufactures of Free Cotton is evidently manifest; and no doubt the demand would be much more extensive, could they be obtained without the additional cost of transportation.

FREE LABOR.

A paragraph, from the "Fredericksburg Arena," which has been copied into a number of other papers, in speaking of the Philadelphia "Free Cotton Association," expresses some doubt as to "where," in our free country, cotton could be obtained untouched by the hands of slavery. For the satisfaction of those who may be apprehensive of deception, we subjoin the following copies of certificates, testifying to the purity of the material employed in the late manufactures of the society. That made use of previously, was received from the same source.

Certificates.

We do hereby certify, that the 30 bales of cotton, sent by us to Morris Longstreth, of Philadelphia, marked F, and numbered from 1 to 30,

is, exclusively, cotton raised by free white persons, or at least by free laborers, and that no cotton, raised by slaves, has been mixed therewith.

NATHAN HUNT JR.

for Hunt & Stockton.

Third Mo. 23d, 1830.

I do certify, that the 30 bales of cotton, sent by Hunt & Stockton to Morris Longstreth, is according to the above certificate, exclusively the product of Free Labor; as I personally attended to the picking of it.

NATHAN HUNT.

3rd Mo. 23d, 1830.

It is also questioned whether the plan of proceeding, adopted by the Association, is of a nature to operate beneficially on the condition of the slaves. We should suppose no unprejudiced mind would hesitate for an instant to answer in the affirmative. We are convinced the system of Free Labor, as it is one of the most quiet, is also one of the most efficient, auxiliaries of Emancipation. And most thoroughly are we persuaded that to give freedom to the slaves would advantage their masters, in a degree inferior only to the benefit derived from the negroes themselves. The superiority of Free Labor does not rest upon unsupported theory—it has been tested by fair experiment, and found by far the most profitable. The society of which we speak, wishes not to injure the interests of any individual—nor can it interfere with the true interests of any one, to hold out inducements for them to return from a path of injustice to one of rectitude. It is but reasonable to suppose that the persons who are now slaves, would labor as cheerfully and industriously, when disencumbered, if not of the weight of actual fetters yet of the heavy sense of degradation and thrall, which presses upon their hearts and weighs down the energies of their nature with a dull lethargy.

AMERICAN COURTESY.

We are gravely assured by Cooper, in his "Travelling Bachelor," that "America is the Paradise of women"—that no where else do they meet with the same degree of uniform respectful attention and delicacy as in our own country. This sounds well—but a perusal of the following paragraph has rather a tendency to introduce some strongly incongruous ideas into the mental picture of a paradise. We have not usually considered branding, whipping, and imprisonment, either as tokens of peculiar respect, or very intimately associated with the enjoyment of superlative felicity. If it is so, we may congratulate ourselves that at least a portion of our sex is so well provided with the material for happiness; nor can we but admire the generous spirit of courtesy and self-denial

From the New-Haven Herald.

COLORED SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

"During the Revolutionary War, and after the sufferings of a protracted contest had rendered it difficult to procure recruits for the army, the Colony of Connecticut adopted the expedient of forming a corps of colored soldiers. A battalion of blacks was soon enlisted, and throughout the war conducted themselves with fidelity and efficiency. The late General Humphreys, then a Captain, commanded a company of this corps.—It is said that objections were made, on the part of officers, to accepting the command of the colored troops. In this exigency Capt Humphreys, who was attached to the family of General Washington, volunteered his services. His patriotism was rewarded, and his fellow officers were afterwards as desirous to obtain appointments in that corps as they had previously been to avoid them.

The following extract from the pay rolls of the 2d company 4th regiment of the Connecticut line of the revolutionary army may rescue many gallant names from oblivion.

Captain, David Humphreys.

PRIVATEES.

Jack Arabus	John Ball
Brister Baker	John Cleveland
Cesar Bagdon	John McLean
Phineas Strong	Gamaliel Terry
Jesse Vose	Ned Fields
Lent Munson	Daniel Bradley
Isaac Higgins	Heman Rogers
Sharp Camp	Lewis Martin
Job Cesar	Jo Otis
Cesar Chapman	John Rogers
James Dinah	John Mix
Ned Freedom	Solomon Sowtiee
Philo Freeman	Ezekiel Tupham
Peter Freeman	Hector Williams
Tom Freeman	Cato Wilbrow
Juba Freeman	Congo Zado
Cuff Freeman	Cato Robinson
Peter Gibbs	Juba Dyer
Prince George	Prince Johnson
Andrew Jack	Prince Crosbee
Alex Judd	Peter Morando
Shubael Johnson	Pomp Liberty
Peter Lion	Tim Cesar
Cuff Liberty	Sampson Cuff
Jack Little	Pomp Cyrus
Dick Freedom	Bill Sowers
Harry Williams	Pomp McCuff
Dick Violet	Sharp Rogers

It is believed that no modern pay roll exhibits so great a number of private soldiers bearing the names of distinguished warriors of Rome in the proudest days of her military glory."

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No. 6. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

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and predilections that have agitated the nation, and from which have arisen the political parties that now exist, and the fierce strife that is now witnessed.

I now openly and unhesitatingly give it as my decided and candid belief, that the violent contest between the planters of the south and the people of the middle and northern States, relative to the *Tariff*, and internal improvements, is wholly attributable to the influence of the system of slavery. On this ground the great schism is based; and the principle of injustice and usurpation connected with it is the grand pivot upon which our future presidential conflicts will turn, at least while the chief executive officer in the Federal government shall possess the right to "nullify" an act of Congress. Take from that officer the tremendous power of the "*Veto*," and the members of the slavite faction would have to look elsewhere for the means of exercising the tyrannical authority by them claimed, and foolishly acceded to by the "working men" of the free States, who have had too little leisure to scan their wily intrigues.

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tion of the Southern portion of the island of Hayti. The limits of this work will not possibly admit of giving it fully in detail; but I shall endeavor so to condense it as to furnish a generally correct idea of the country. The author will please accept my thanks for his valuable manuscript.

THOMAS CRUSE.

From the communication of this gentleman, in this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, it would seem that the spirit of avarice is yet too predominant for the success of his philanthropic project.

I have the gratification, however, to learn from him that, *since that article was in type*, he has purchased and manumitted one young woman, who was held as a slave by a lady in this city. He, therefore has great cause to rejoice that one human being has, by his instrumentality, been relieved from the yoke of bondage; and even should nothing further be done, in this way, *some good* has already been accomplished.

When we take into consideration the *motives* by which this gentleman is actuated, it must be admitted that his conduct is deserving of the highest praise: and most assuredly he will have his reward for his humane and pious efforts.

A GOOD ONE!

Our friend Swaim, of the "Greensboro (N.C.) Patriot", thus quizzes the Legislature of that State, relative to one of its recent acts:—

"*Sheriff Bill.* The bill to vest the rights of electing sheriffs in the free *white* men of the State, has become a law. A motion was made to strike out the word "*white*" in the title; but it was lost, 93 to 56. We cannot well see what business that pretty little word, "*white*," has in any part of the bill. We think the Legislature would be detained at least a *fortnight* in drawing a line of distinction between *white* & colored!"

MARYLAND ELECTION.

A distant correspondent wishes to know whether the anti-slavery party in Baltimore has determined to *retire* from the contest, in a *political* capacity? For the present time, it has. Our friend D. Raymond, the only person possessing the requisite qualifications and at the same time a *willingness* to act upon that principle, has removed to a distant part of the State. The great strife, relative to MEN, now absorbs every consideration. "Clay or Jackson"—and "Jackson or Clay," are the only watchwords now among our politicians. Considerations of a thousand times more importance *have little weight with our friends at present!* But let us not despond:—they will think upon the subject of slavery again when *Gen. Jackson returns to the hermitage.*

THE AFRICAN COLONY.

A vessel will shortly sail from Norfolk, for the African Colony; and it is stated in the *African Repository* that a number of slaves will be permitted to go out in said vessel, from Virginia and Maryland. A few will probably go from this city. Several free persons also are preparing for the voyage.

Correspondence.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MR. EDITOR: Man is a being indued with an inherent love of *liberty*, which consists in the honor of directing his own actions, to the utmost latitude which is possible, without intruding on the liberties of others. No passion has been more universally applauded, than a love of liberty, and no vice has been so universally condemned, as an indifference towards it. LIBERTY is stamped on our coins—LIBERTY or DEATH is inscribed on our banners. For *Liberty* our fathers left their native soil. For *Liberty* they fought, and bled, and died.

Liberty may be considered under various heads, but I shall take but two—political and personal. Political liberty consists in each man's having a voice in the administration of government, being bound only by the will of the majority in a constitutional manner. So that no man endures a law, to which he has not virtually consented, for he consents to abide by the acts of the majority, when they are constitutional. Some men prize this kind of liberty, while others do not. Some cannot be happy without it, and some cannot be happy with it. It is, at least, a precarious blessing, and becomes a curse, when conferred on those who are not qualified to exercise it: yet, for this liberty what rivers of blood have been shed! At the least infraction of it, thousands of swords leap from their scabbards, and brother slays his brother, like the soldiers of Cadmus, until the living do not suffice to bury the dead.

Personal liberty consists in the power which every man has, or ought to have, over his own private actions, words and thoughts, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. It belongs to the whole human race, is unalienable in its nature, and can be forfeited only by crime. But the forfeit cannot be entailed on posterity. In fact, in the language of the declaration of independence, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It is self-evident, that there can be no political liberty without personal liberty, for personal slavery includes political, as the greater does the less.

Personal liberty is essential to property; for what has a slave which he can call his own? If his body is not his, it is absurd to think that any thing else can be. Personal liberty is essential to happiness, but political liberty is not. Many nations prefer monarchy to republicanism, and give up political liberty, for the sake of personal security. Nor is political liberty essential to our form of government. A republic is often more despotic than a monarchy.—

he Superior Court on Saturday. The jury after a short consultation, brought in a verdict of voluntary manslaughter, and assessed her term of imprisonment in the Penitentiary to 2 years. Those who attended the trial generally anticipated such a verdict—*Richmond Whig*.

Will the Whig oblige us by stating the distinction between "voluntary manslaughter" and murder—and whether penal codes of the State establishes them as two distinct crimes?—*N. Y. American*.

Cold Drink.—A coloured labourer was taken home in an insensible and dying state yesterday from Central wharf. It appeared that after severe exposure to the intense heat of the weather he drank copiously of cold water; while in this pitiable state and requiring medical aid, two persons went in search of a carriage to remove him; two hackmen drove to the spot, but in an inhuman manner refused to take up the sufferer, although assured of the fare, because his complexion was dark. It would be well for the morals of the community, if these hackmen were as fastidious in other respects.

The above is copied from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. This may be said to be a species of philanthropy similar to that entertained by a distinguished merchant at Newburyport!

New-York, July 7.

The brig Claudio, which arrived at Sag Harbor on the 30th ult. in 35 days from the Island of Ascension, reports that she left H. B. M. frigate Sybille, Com. Colliere, at that Island. The officers of this ship stated that they had re-captured twelve thousand slaves since they had been on the African station. The officers of the Athol, a sloop of war, also lying at Ascension Island, informed that the schr. Albattross, of St. Helena, bound for Sierra Leone with despatches from Com. Colliere, was boarded in lon. 8 W. by a piratical schr. latteen rigged, and all on board killed, except the carpenter and two seamen, who secreted themselves in the hold.

From the Greensborough (N.C.) Patriot.

I shall come to my subject (the internal slave trade as it is carried on in Guilford, of which county I am a citizen) without ceremony, and leave you to make such comments as the case deserves.

Mr. T. S. of this county sold a negro woman and her son (a man grown) to a speculator in human flesh. The mother

had a husband, and the son had lately married a wife. This poor mother had not only to part forever from her husband, and her son from his wife; but (blush! oh, man!) were handcuffed and chained together!! A rope was then attached to the chain, and fastened around the neck of the horse whereon the gallant nabob triumphantly rode.

This transaction took place on the 14, of May last. Will the citizens of this county suffer such savage cruelty to be carried on in the open sunshine of Heaven, with impunity? never! never!! Modesty and decency are here subjected to brute force! Mothers, blush! Maidens, hide your faces. Young men, examine your hearts and consider the condition of your country!

A CORRESPONDENT.

Guilford, June 10, 1830.

Selections and Extracts.

From the Portland Christian Mirror.

NEGRO SLAVERY.—Writers have appeared in both the Evangelical and Baptist Magazines, calling the attention of British Christians to the subject of Slavery. One says, "the government is able, by one statute, to give a blow to West-India Slavery from which it will never recover.—The people have a similar power, not merely by sending up to Parliament so many thousands of petitions as shall induce the government to act with decision, but by abstaining from the use of West India produce until something effectual is done." On this principle the writer had not intentionally purchased one penny-worth of West India produce for the last four years. "A Cry from Wales" says—"The thunders of vengeance roll onward over our country. Myriads of murdered souls will rise up in judgment against us. It is a direct violation of the first principles of humanity to assert that men can be more useful in the fetters of tyranny, than in the bonds of civil society. And it is a gross libel on Christianity to say that they can be happy, while their rights as men, and their destinies as immortals are designedly hid from their eyes." The Baptist Magazine says—This is "a subject on which sufficient feeling has not been manifested by Christians as such, & on the grounds of religion. They all unite in urging the forwarding of petitions to parliament. "It is now time to attend in earnest to their [Africans'] multiplied wrongs. The united voice of the British people has never yet been heard in their behalf. Let it now be raised, and it must soon be heard throughout the world. Let the revered Wilberforce hear it once before he dies. Ten thousand Christian congregations are on the move; but wishing to move simultaneously and in perfect constitutional order, they look to you, Sir, and to your friends in London, for directions and management. They only wait for a signal from head quarters. Let no time be lost. Slavery must die. And the happy shouts of millions shall soon rend the heavens, while they sing, "the world is free!"

From the New-Haven Herald.

COLORADO SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

"During the Revolutionary War, and after the sufferings of a protracted contest had rendered it difficult to procure recruits for the army, the Colony of Connecticut adopted the expedient of forming a corps of colored soldiers. A battalion of blacks was soon enlisted, and throughout the war conducted themselves with fidelity and efficiency. The late General Humphreys, then a Captain, commanded a company of this corps.—It is said that objections were made, on the part of officers, to accepting the command of the colored troops. In this exigency Capt Humphreys, who was attached to the family of General Washington, volunteered his services. His patriotism was rewarded, and his fellow officers were afterwards as desirous to obtain appointments in that corps as they had previously been to avoid them.

The following extract from the pay rolls of the 2d company 4th regiment of the Connecticut line of the revolutionary army may rescue many gallant names from oblivion.

Captain, David Humphreys.

PRIVATE.

Jack Arabus
Brister Baker
Cesar Bagdon
Phineas Strong
Jesse Vose
Lent Munson
Isaac Higgins
Sharp Camp
Job Cesar
Cesar Chapman
James Dinah
Ned Freedom
Philo Freeman
Peter Freeman
Tom Freeman
Juba Freeman
Cuff Freeman
Peter Gibbs
Prince George
Andrew Jack
Alex Judd
Shubael Johnson
Peter Lion
Cuff Liberty
Jack Little
Dick Freedom
Harry Williams
Dick Violet

John Ball
John Cleveland
John McLean
Gamaliel Terry
Ned Fields
Daniel Bradley
Heman Rogers
Lewis Martin
Jo Otis
John Rogers
Peter Mix
Solomon Sowtie
Ezekiel Tupham
Hector Williams
Cato Wilbrow
Congo Zado
Cato Robinson
Juba Dyer
Prince Johnson
Prince Crosebee
Peter Morando
Pomp Liberty
Tim Cesar
Sampson Cuff
Pomp Cyrus
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Pomp McCuff
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rogation: Is not such an one either very ignorant, or very wicked? It must be the former. If he utters this prayer with his conscience awakened to the guilt of the master, and his eyes enlivened as to the wrongs and sufferings of the slave, is it not a mercy that his tongue does not cleave to the roof of his mouth?

I will conclude these remarks, by relating an anecdote perfectly in point:

"A man, possessing an uncommon degree of piety, was, with his wife and several children, reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty, almost to a state of starvation. Through the influence of the enemy of souls, together with the constant solicitations of his numerous family, almost famished for food, he was tempted one night, to take a lamb out of the flock of a respectable farmer in his neighbourhood. The lamb was brought home, killed, and part of it immediately dressed and brought upon the table; but when the poor tempted soul was about to ask a blessing upon it, Conscience did its office, and smote him: he looked at his hungry family, and said:—"How can I ask my God to bless that provision which I have feloniously taken from my neighbour? I will not partake of it, neither shall you; I will go and return the whole as it is, confessing my sin." He did so, and obtained the farmer's pardon; and a gracious and faithful God in his kind providence, supplied him and his family that day and ever afterwards."

Let every slaveholder, and every other man who is withholding justice from his "neighbour," and who is in the habit of using this petition, "go and do likewise."

W.

Biographical Sketches.

It was my intention to insert a sketch of the Life of *Anthony Benezet* in the present number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—But I found much more difficulty than I had anticipated, in condensing the memoirs before me, in order to bring them within the limits which I have necessarily prescribed, and at the same time to give as general a view as possible of his multifarious labors in the good cause. Consequently, it is postponed for the present. I, therefore, embrace the opportunity to introduce the following brief notice of three other distinguished advocates of emancipation, who have recently passed from works to rewards. This article was received some months since; but, with many others, deferred for want of room. A few

memoirs of one of the persons to whom it alludes, have already appeared in this work. With the proceedings of one of the others, relative to the subject of emancipation, I have had very little acquaintance.

I consider it due to the public that the labors of the late *Elias Hicks*, in the cause of the abolition of slavery, should be more generally known than they are at present. A concise statement, more fully setting forth his views and proceedings in relation to this particular subject, will be cheerfully inserted in this department, if forwarded to the editor by some competent person. I take this occasion, also, to invite similar communications respecting any other distinguished advocates of the good cause, whose labors have been calculated to promote the important work.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"The friends of Emancipation are invited to put on their habiliments of mourning. The past year enrols upon the list of mortality three dedicated laborers in that interesting cause—*Townsend Hawkehurst* and *Elias Hicks* of Long Island, and *James Jones* of Tennessee. Their lives have been distinguished for a strict observance of their solemn duties and faithful testimonies against the cruel system which has so long been suffered to exist in our otherwise enlightened country. They have labored not only by precept but by example; persevering through innumerable difficulties, denying themselves many of the accustomed necessities of life, and manifesting in their intercourse with men a zealous opposition to *African Slavery*. But they are now no more!

And because it has pleased infinite wisdom thus to remove from works to rewards these able advocates, will he suffer the effect of their labors to become extinct and the cause of emancipation to fail? We believe it not; but we humbly implore, that the mantles of these *Elijahs* may rest upon the *Elishas* of our day, even those whose years are yet few, and whose virtues are in embryo; and by a portion of that spirit which gave energy to their endeavors and crowned their labors with peace, will also bless the work in our yet feeble hands and enable us to divide the waters of opposition before us, and assiduously move on in the important work of proclaiming liberty to the captive and freedom to the oppressed.—And although we may not so fully effect what we most ardently desire should be accomplished, we shall reap the inestimable satisfaction of "having done what we could."

been resorted to. If some of these States do not, ere long, witness the retributive vengeance of Heaven, for their criminal acts of oppression, it will not be delayed because there are "fifty righteous" to be found in Sodom.—No! with all their high professions of religion and freedom, there is not a people upon earth more deeply sunk in the mire of avarice and injustice. The great mass ~~are~~ fairly represented in the following couplet:

Behold! a factious band agree
To call it freedom, when *themselves* are free!

Are these remarks *severe*?—They are *deservedly* so:—and they are placed on record, for the indignant perusal of those in future time who may be actuated by a bolder philanthropy, and a broader patriotism, than the *religious* and *humane* "republicans" of the present day. There are indeed some exceptions to the above general censure; but they are few, comparatively speaking.

Not only has the philanthropic Mower been under the necessity of discontinuing his publication, for lack of the necessary support; but the redarm of persecution has also been made bare to punish him for his patriotic devotion to the sacred cause of justice! He has been recently *imprisoned*, on a charge of circulating what the slave tyrants of Louisiana please to term a "seditious and inflammatory handbill," among the colored people of New-Orleans. This handbill, we learn, was nothing more than an appeal to the people for the support of his publication, previous to its discontinuance. Whether he will possess the *nerve* to meet the Negro *monocrats* of New Orleans with that stern rebuke that our Judge Brice and his "Swiss" minions have had a taste of, remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that he will ultimately triumph over the malice and *tyranny* of his persecutors.

THE CANADA SETTLEMENT.

This important undertaking is successfully progressing. A Convention of Delegates from various parts of the United States, composed of some of the most intelligent colored people in the country, was recently held in Philadelphia; at which resolutions were adopted to prosecute it with vigor. The venerable Bishop Allen presided in this Convention. It is expected that the proceedings will shortly appear in pamphlet form.

I learn that this assembly did not sanction the proceedings of the colored people from Ohio, but have resolved to proceed independently, and in a way that will not interfere with their plans. A Committee was appointed to transact

such immediate business as might be considered advisable. Addresses to the colored people of the United States, and to philanthropists generally, and also one to the people of England, were adopted. A resolution was likewise passed to hold another general Convention at a future period.

A particular topographical description of the country where the colored people are making their settlements in Canada, would at this moment be a desideratum. I had calculated to furnish something of the kind, before now, but sufficient materials are not yet at command. There is no doubt, however, of the great fertility of the soil, mildness of the climate, and civil advantages, there held out to the views and acceptance of our colored people; and this region, together with Mexico, and the West Indies, will ere long be to them what the land of Canaan was to the Israelites; a land of refuge from injustice, and a home for those who are released from a worse than Egyptian oppression.

Just as the matter for this number was nearly prepared for the Press, I received a letter from Israel Lewis, agent of the colored people from Ohio, dated: "*Wilberforce, Upper Canada, September 16th, 1830.*"

He writes that the gentlemen at Auburn, New York, who kindly interested themselves in procuring donations to aid the infant Colony, have sent them upwards of three hundred dollars, which has enabled them to pay a considerable sum on the purchase of their land. He states that they are in need of further aid, to prosecute their undertaking; and requests that humane persons will lend their assistance. He observes that donations for this purpose, forwarded to James Seymour, Cashier of the Bank of Auburn, N. Y. will be thankfully received, and faithfully applied to the use above mentioned. He concludes by stating that they have small crops of corn, tobacco, beans, cabbages, potatoes, melons, &c. now growing; that they are building new houses, and otherwise progressing with their settlements.

It were well worthy the serious consideration of the humane and the philanthropic of the wealthy class, in this country, whether at least as much good will not result from encouraging the settlement of our colored people in Canada, as may be expected from any other colonial scheme. What say the advocates of the plans proposed by King and Tucker, to the Congress of the United States, a few years since?

TOPOGRAPHY OF HAYTI.

By a late arrival from Port au Prince, I have received an interesting topographical descrip-

tion of the Southern portion of the island of Hayti. The limits of this work will not possibly admit of giving it fully in detail; but I shall endeavor so to condense it as to furnish a generally correct idea of the country. The author will please accept my thanks for his valuable manuscript.

—
THOMAS CRUSE.

From the communication of this gentleman, in this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, it would seem that the spirit of avarice is yet too predominant for the success of his philanthropic project.

I have the gratification, however, to learn from him that, *since that article was in type*, he has purchased and manumitted one young woman, who was held as a slave by a lady in this city. He, therefore has great cause to rejoice that one human being has, by his instrumentality, been relieved from the yoke of bondage; and even should nothing further be done, in this way, *some good* has already been accomplished.

When we take into consideration the *motives* by which this gentleman is actuated, it must be admitted that his conduct is deserving of the highest praise: and most assuredly he will have his reward for his humane and pious efforts.

—
A GOOD ONE!

Our friend Swaim, of the "Greensboro (N.C.) Patriot", thus quizzes the Legislature of that State, relative to one of its recent acts:—

"*Sheriff Bill*. The bill to vest the rights of electing sheriffs in the free white men of the State, has become a law. A motion was made to strike out the word "*white*" in the title; but it was lost, 93 to 36. We cannot well see what business that pretty little word, "*white*," has in any part of the bill. We think the Legislature would be detained at least a fortnight in drawing a line of distinction between *white* & colored!"

—
MARYLAND ELECTION.

A distant correspondent wishes to know whether the anti-slavery party in Baltimore has determined to *recede* from the contest, in a *political* capacity? For the present year, it has. Our friend D. Raymond, the only person possessing the requisite qualifications and at the same time a *willingness to act* upon that principle, has removed to a distant part of the State. The great strife, relative to MEN, now absorbs every consideration. "Clay or Jackson"—and "Jackson or Clay," are the only watchwords now among our politicians. Considerations of a thousand times more importance *have little weight with our friends at present!* But let us not despond:—they will think upon the subject of slavery again when *Gen. Jackson returns to the hermitage.*

THE AFRICAN COLONY.

A vessel will shortly sail from Norfolk, for the African Colony; and it is stated in the *African Repository* that a number of slaves will be permitted to go out in said vessel, from Virginia and Maryland. A few will probably go from this city. Several free persons also are preparing for the voyage.

Correspondence.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

MR. EDITOR: Man is a being indued with an inherent love of *liberty*, which consists in the honor of directing his own actions, to the utmost latitude which is possible, without intruding on the liberties of others. No passion has been more universally applauded, than a love of liberty, and no vice has been so universally condemned, as an indifference towards it. LIBERTY is stamped on our coins—LIBERTY or DEATH is inscribed on our banners. For *Liberty* our fathers left their native soil. For *Liberty* they fought, and bled, and died.

Liberty may be considered under various heads, but I shall take but two—political and personal. Political liberty consists in each man's having a voice in the administration of government, being bound only by the will of the majority in a constitutional manner. So that no man endures a law, to which he has not virtually consented, for he consents to abide by the acts of the majority, when they are constitutional. Some men prize this kind of liberty, while others do not. Some cannot be happy without it, and some cannot be happy with it. It is, at least, a precarious blessing, and becomes a curse, when conferred on those who are not qualified to exercise it: yet, for this liberty what rivers of blood have been shed! At the least infraction of it, thousands of swords leap from their scabbards, and brother slays his brother, like the soldiers of Cadmus, until the living do not suffice to bury the dead.

Personal liberty consists in the power which every man has, or ought to have, over his own private actions, words and thoughts, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. It belongs to the whole human race, is unalienable in its nature, and can be forfeited only by crime. But the forfeit cannot be entailed on posterity. In fact, in the language of the declaration of independence, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It is self-evident, that there can be no political liberty without personal liberty, for personal slavery includes political, as the greater does the less.

Personal liberty is essential to property; for what has a slave which he can call his own? If his body is not his, it is absurd to think that any thing else can be. Personal liberty is essential to happiness, but political liberty is not. Many nations prefer monarchy to republicanism, and give up political liberty, for the sake of personal security. Nor is political liberty essential to our form of government. A republic is often more despotic than a monarchy.—

this purpose be remitted to the Treasurer of the London Ladies' Negro Education Society, under the patronage of the Duchess of Beaufort.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MR EDITOR.

Looking over your paper, for May, last, my attention was attracted by the engraving of a young female slave in chains. I fancied that this poor sufferer had been forcibly separated from family connexions, and all the human heart holds dear, and doomed by brutal avarice to grieve and pine in earthly loneliness. My reflections elicited the following lines, which, if you think worthy a place in the G. U. E. are at your disposal.

LINES.

I've seen, though young, a gloomy cloud
O'er my fair prospects thrown,
I've mourned the lost and dearly loved,
In sorrow, and alone.

Thou'rt not alone, a still small voice
Whispers that God is nigh,
Thou'rt not alone, faint heart rejoice,
There's comfort from on high;

And when dark clouds of sorrow come,
I'll look for aid from thee;
Thou art my aid, thou art my home,
A resting place for me.

We have received a pamphlet, from a Lady in England, containing the following dialogue, accompanied by the interogation,—“Might not this be useful to urge American Ladies to form Anti-Slavery Associations?” We copy it, and expect our female friends to furnish the answer.

DIALOGUE,

Between a Well-wisher and a Friend to the Slaves, in the British Colonies.

BY A LADY.

“I cannot be fished.”

A. ARE YOU a member of the LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in this neighbourhood?

B. Oh no! I am not quite so quixotic. I am very sorry for the poor slaves; but I see much more suffering and poverty all around me than I can possibly relieve; and I am surprised that these ladies who certainly have not made their own neighborhood a paradise yet, should think it necessary to search out objects of charity on the other side of the globe. When there is no more misery to be found in England, it will be time enough in my opinion to go so far in search of sufferings to relieve; and I cannot help feeling inclined to answer the invitation of those enthusiasts by the old saying, “Charity begins at home.”

A. I am quite content that Charity should begin at home; and much as I admire and respect the exertions now so generally making for the benefit of strangers, I should never have pressed you or any one to join in them, however much I might wish you to do so, had these hapless negroes been left in the land of their fathers. They would then have been strangers, and entitled only to the strangers' portion of help, whatever that may be. But we have brought them here. Englishmen under the sanction of the Eng-

lish government have brought them to English colonies, and therefore the charity which begins at home cannot refuse to assist them. Gladly would they have continued to be strangers to us, but we have forced them by the most brutal violence to become our fellow-subjects; and as their situation is more deplorable than that of any white persons who stand in the same relation to us, we should even on this ground (though it is not the only reason why their claim is most urgent) be particularly active and earnest in assisting them.

B. I believe there is a great deal of exaggeration in the shocking accounts given by the abolitionists.

A. It is easy to say so, but not very easy to see what interest they could have in exaggerating them; nor why they should venture to incur the enmity of so powerful a body as the West Indians and their numerous connexions without urgent cause. I do not ask you, however, to take for granted that their reports are true; I simply ask you not to take for granted that they are false, but to inquire and judge for yourself. I own it gave me pain to hear you so hastily treat the charges as exaggerated.

B. Why should it give you pain?

A. It gave me pain because I thought I perceived in your expression symptoms of the too prevailing disposition to take the oppressor's part against the oppressed. I should be very sorry to offend you, but I must say, that when you, without investigation, refuse to believe a tale of wrongs which you are called on to help to redress, you are not acting as a Christian should. We are told to “do justly and to love mercy.” Do you act so, when, in judging the cause of the helpless, you take for granted that the strong man is in the right, and, without listening to the evidence, decide that the poor wretch who lies at his feet is not wronged?

B. But I am not refusing to listen to the evidence: I have lately been told by a gentleman who has been in the West Indies, and who therefore must know better what is the state of things there than these Anti-slavery gentlemen, (very few of whom he says have ever visited one of the Colonies,) that the situation of the slaves is not nearly so bad as it has been represented to be.

A. All I ask is that you should read the accounts that are given by competent witnesses; and if you then find that the condition of the slaves is one of tolerable comfort, you may with an easy conscience refuse to give yourself any more trouble about them. I believe I might safely ask you merely to read the statements of the friends of slavery, and be sure of your verdict being against them; for their own legal reports, gazettes, and other documents, furnish unanswerable proofs of the iniquity and misery produced by the existence of slavery. As for your friend who has been in the West Indies, don't take his evidence for more than it is worth: ask him if he has observed the slaves when at work on the sugar plantations; if he has seen them when undergoing punishment; if he has followed them to the magistrates and courts of justice, and seen what redress they obtain when wronged; if he has visited the prisons and work-houses, and inquired for what offences and by whose orders the slaves are there; if he has examined their food, and counted their hours of labour and hours of repose: if he has done this and

much more, and if he is a man of veracity, believe his report; but if he has spent his time in feasting in the houses of the planters and receiving their various civilities, and has only seen the slaves when the masters and overseers thought it expedient that they should be seen by a stranger's eye, then consider his report as of little worth.

B. Indeed, I never thought of asking him what opportunities he had had of seeing the real state of things, and I don't well know whether he was sufficiently interested about the welfare of the slaves to take much pains to ascertain their real condition; so I own I ought not to have said so decidedly that the abolitionists were guilty of exaggeration. I assure you, I never thought that there was no truth in their accounts, and I have always pitied the poor slaves very much. I detest slavery, and I hope it will some time or other be put an end to; and till it is, I am sure I hope measures will be taken to prevent the masters from ill-treating their slaves. But I can't take any part in the business myself: attention to my family is my first duty, and that fully occupies my time.

A. I wish the slaves were allowed to devote a reasonable portion of their time to such attention. No doubt it is your first duty; but family concerns cannot I think so completely occupy the time of any lady, or of any woman above the poorest class, as to form a conscientious excuse for not devoting a few minutes, now and then, to help any of her fellow-creatures whom she knows (or might know if she would attend to the subject) to be in urgent need of her assistance. But you, who feel this duty to be so important, will surely be peculiarly anxious to help the poor slaves, when you hear that in the West Indies the most essential and most important of all the maternal duties, if performed at any other time than the prescribed hours of the overseer, is an offence punished by cruel stripes on the bare body of the unhappy mother. If a poor woman, thus maltreated because she had yielded to the cries of her hungry infant, and had left her laborious task for a few minutes to suckle it, could ask you to draw the attention of those who are able to assist her to her case, would you have the conscience to reply—"I cannot spare ten minutes from my family duties to plead your cause?" For is it not true that if you did undertake this labour of mercy, you might leave your children with a nurse-maid who would take good care of them, and where you know that they would not suffer in any way from your absence while you attended to the call of humanity. But were you in the situation of a black slave you must be content to leave your babe with many others under the care of some old negro, or carry it on your back while laboriously toiling in the sun; and in either case you must let it (even though sickly) cry on in vain for the nourishment you would so gladly bestow on it; for should you permit yourself to be moved by the yearnings of maternal sympathy to still the piteous cry, you would be instantly punished by such stripes on your naked flesh, as no person in England, of common humanity, could see inflicted on a horse, without indignation and horror. Again, if you were liable at any hour to have those children, the love and care of whom so engross your feelings that you can hardly find room in your heart for a little compassion—to have those tender little ones

torn from you and sent away where you would never see them more, what would you think of her who should say she was too much engaged to try to save you and your offspring from such a dreadful fate? Bring such a heart-rending separation from all your beloved children strongly to your mind, and will you then say that you have not time to try to save other women from it?

B. Perhaps I ought not to say I have not time for it: I believe I could by giving up some employment of no great consequence, find a few minutes now and then which I might employ in that manner; but I really am not fit for any kind of business; I am an invalid, and a person out of health is not required to exert herself as much as if she were well.

A. Not on this side the Atlantic; but it is well you are not a negro slave: if you were, not only would your plea be disregarded, unless your illness were such as to be quite evident to the overseer's unwilling eye, but you would be severely flogged, or put into the stocks or into prison for making it. Think of this being the manner in which pleas of sickness or infirmity are attended to when made by a slave, and you will surely from sympathy feel more inclined than stouter persons might be to help her. Remember too that she is not like you, begging to be excused from the exertion of reading or lending a few books, or speaking to a few neighbours, or giving directions to a grocer, or trying to persuade a relative to promote a petition; but she is supplicating that she may, till she is better, rest from more severe labour than is ever performed by women in this country, and that in a tropical climate. Since you think indisposition a justifiable reason for not making a trifling exertion, you would, I conclude, consider pregnancy a very sufficient excuse for a relaxation of even your ordinary and not very fatiguing employment: what will you feel then when you hear that in the West Indies, this circumstance is not considered even as a reason for excusing the slave from the most barbarous modes of punishment, nor for allowing her such relaxation from toil as is necessary to preserve the life of the unborn infant. Read I entreat you, (for I could not venture to tell you the particulars,) how pregnant women have been treated in some of our colonies.

B. Oh, pray don't ask me to read those horrid accounts; I can't bear to do so indeed.

A. Perhaps the Samaritan did not like better to look on bleeding wounds than you do to read of them; but if he had been so delicate and (pardon me) so selfish as to turn away his eyes when he knew that a stranger was perishing for want of help, he would not have gained the commendation of our Saviour.

B. That is not a case in point: the Samaritan could not help the sufferer without going up to him, and with his own hands binding up his wounds; but if I felt well enough to do any thing for the slaves, and if I thought it was any part of my business, I could do it just as well from knowing that they are oppressed and treated with cruelty, as if I made myself sick by reading the particular account of their sufferings.

A. Alas! you have yourself shewn too plainly what is the efficacy of a vague general notion that the slaves are wronged and cruelly treated. Such a notion would hardly impel to sufficient exertion an active person who had particular disinclination to take a share in the work. But

you who acknowledge yourself to be indolent and not willing to help in this cause, will most certainly not make all the exertions which you can and ought to make, if the sufferings you are desired to assist in relieving are not particularly impressed on your mind. If they were so, if you not merely knew that these poor women are suffering wrong, but had their particular grievances imprinted on your imagination, and thus really affecting your heart, you could not say in imitation of some of whom St. James speaks, "Be ye no longer liable to be forever torn from the arms of your children! Be ye allowed to suckle your babes uncouraged!" and then smile on your own in peace. No; if you did not shut your eyes and ears against the recital of the grievous hardships endured by these fellow-creatures of yours, you could not content yourself, as so many do, with the expression of what sounds like a compassionate wish; but you would, like him who did not refuse to look on the wounds of the stranger, assist the helpless sufferer, or at least endeavour to do so. (*Conclusion next month.*)

BRITISH SLAVERY.

Whene'er to Africa's shores I turn my eyes,
Horror of deepest, deadliest guilt arise:
I see, by more than Fancy's mirror shown,
The burning village and the blazing town:
See the dire victim torn from social life,
The shrieking babe, the agonizing wife!
Shel wretch forlorn, is dragg'd by hostile hands
To distant tyrants, sold to distant lands:
Transmitted miseries, and successive chains,
The solesad heritage her child obtains!
E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny
To live together, or together die.
By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,
See the fond links of feeling nature broke!
The fibres twisting round a parent's heart,
Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part.
Hannah More.

Department Français.

LE "LIBERAL."

J'apprends avec beaucoup de regret que le "Liberal" récemment publié à la Nouvelle Orléans, par Milo Mower, a discontinué son travail par manque de support. Ceci a été le sort de tous les ouvrages périodiques, excepté de celui du "Genius of Universal Emancipation," qui a été établi en Amérique dans la vue de promulguer les doctrines de la justice et de la liberté universelle sans considérer le rang ou la couleur des hommes. Oui, dans cette terre bien heureuse, cette terre renfermant en elle les constitutions chrétiennes et républicaines, on lon prétend atteindre ou plus haut degré des vertus religieuses, politiques et sociales, dans cette terre dis-je, un ouvrage périodique défenseur de la sainte cause, ayant le courage de le faire d'une manière ferme et énergique, est délaissé et comment? Par manque de support. Honte! Honte aux philanthropes déclarés de cette génération! Ils ont des mains pour tra-

vailler, des langues pour plaider, des fonds pour employer à aucune entreprise quelconque, soit que les faiseurs de projets aient bien calculés ou non pour effecteur le dessein qu'ils ont en contemplation. Mais pendant qu'ils font hautement l'éloge de tous les efforts que l'on fait pour avancer le grand travail de réformation dans la seule manière praticable, ils n'ont pas l'esprit d'aider en fournissant les moyens nécessaires pour son accomplissement.

Non seulement le philanthrope Mower a été dans la nécessité de discontinuer sa publication par le besoin d'être supporté, mais le bras sanglant de la persécution c'est aussi montré à nu pour le punir de sa patriotique dévotion pour la cause sacrée de la justice! Il a été depuis peu emprisonné sur l'accusation de circuler ce que les tirans des esclaves de la Louisiane se plaisent à nommer "un pamphlet incendiaire" parmi les gens de couleur de la Nouvelle Orléans. Nous apprenons que ce pamphlet n'était rien de plus qu'un appel au peuple pour supporter sa publication avant que de la discontinuer. S'il possède la vigueur de faire face aux monocrates des nègres de la Nouvelle Orléans, avec cet air sévère et repoussant que notre Juge Brice et ses Suisses mignons ont pris goût. Ceci reste à savoir. Il faut espérer qu'en dernier ressort, il triomphera de la malice et de la tyrannie de ces persécuteurs.

BLACK LIST.

The "Black List," for this month, is short, but pithy. The engravings, accompanying this number, were prepared especially for it. A little explanation of their design may be necessary.

The first represents the BROKEN FINGER OF A SLAVE. This was actually found in a cup of coffee, not long since, by one of the members of a family in this city! The bone was broken off near the second joint, and below that (together with the nail) it was perfect. The skin was not destroyed, but adhered closely to it, though it had undoubtedly passed through all the various process of boiling and manufacturing the sugar.

We have often heard of the fingers of slaves being caught in the mills and broken off, when grinding the cane. Few perhaps, if any, are known to suffer thus, except those who become stupid and careless from excess of toil, or other causes. Any candid person acquainted with the West India mode of converting the juice of the cane into sugar, will admit that it is an easy matter for a substance, like this, to go through the whole process, in the way that it unquestionably did.

The reader will make his or her own com-

much more, and if he is a man of veracity, believe his report; but if he has spent his time in feasting in the houses of the planters and receiving their various civilities, and has only seen the slaves when the masters and overseers thought it expedient that they should be seen by a stranger's eye, then consider his report as of little worth.

B. Indeed, I never thought of asking him what opportunities he had had of seeing the real state of things, and I don't well know whether he was sufficiently interested about the welfare of the slaves to take much pains to ascertain their real condition; so I own I ought not to have said so decidedly that the abolitionists were guilty of exaggeration. I assure you, I never thought that there was no truth in their accounts, and I have always pitied the poor slaves very much. I detest slavery, and I hope it will some time or other be put an end to; and till it is, I am sure I hope measures will be taken to prevent the masters from ill-treating their slaves. But I can't take any part in the business myself: attention to my family is my first duty, and that fully occupies my time.

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Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part.
Hannah More.

Department Français.

LE "LIBERAL."

J'apprends avec beaucoup de regret que le "Liberal" récemment publié à la Nouvelle Orléans, par Milo Mower, a discontinué son travail par manque de support. Ceci a été le sort de tous les ouvrages périodiques, excepté de celui du "Genius of Universal Emancipation," qui a été établi en Amérique dans la vue de promulguer les doctrines de la justice et de la liberté universelle sans considérer le rang ou la couleur des hommes. Oui, dans cette terre bien heureuse, cette terre renfermant en elle les constitutions chrétiennes et républicaines, on lui prétend atteindre ou plus haut degré des vertus religieuses, politiques et sociales, dans cette terre dis-je, un ouvrage périodique défenseur de la sainte cause, ayant le courage de le faire d'une manière ferme et énergique, est-il étonnant comment? Par manque de support. Honte aux philanthropes déclarés de génération! Ils ont des mains pour tra-

vailer, des langues pour plaider, des fonds pour employer à aucune entreprise quelconque, soit que les faiseurs de projets aient bien calculés ou non pour effecteur le dessein qu'ils ont en contemplation. Mais pendant qu'ils font hautement l'éloge de tous les efforts que l'on fait pour avancer le grand travail de réformation dans la seule manière praticable, ils n'ont pas l'esprit d'aider en fournissant les moyens nécessaires pour son accomplissement.

Non seulement le philanthrope Mower a été dans la nécessité de discontinuer sa publication par le besoin d'être supporté, mais le bras sanglant de la persécution c'est aussi montré à nu pour le punir de sa patriotique dévotion pour la cause sacrée de la justice! Il a été depuis peu emprisonné sur l'accusation de circuler ce que les tirans des esclaves de la Louisiane se plaisent à denommer "un pamphlet incendiaire" parmi les gens de couleur de la Nouvelle Orléans. Nous apprenons que ce pamphlet n'était rien de plus qu'un appel au peuple pour supporter sa publication avant que de la discontinuer. S'il possède la vigueur de faire face aux monocrates des nègres de la Nouvelle Orléans, avec cet air sévère et repoussant que notre Juge Brice et ses Suisses mignons ont pris gout. Ceci reste à savoir. Il faut espérer qu'en dernier ressort, il triomphera de la malice et de la tyrannie de ces persécuteurs.

BLACK LIST.

The "Black List," for this month, is short, but pithy. The engravings, accompanying this number, were prepared especially for it. A little explanation of their design may be necessary.

The first represents the BROKEN FINGER OF A SLAVE. This was actually found in a cup of coffee, not long since, by one of the members of a family in this city! The bone was broken off near the second joint, and below that (together with the nail) it was perfect. The skin was not destroyed, but adhered closely to it, though it had undoubtedly passed through all the various process of boiling and manufacturing the sugar.

We have often heard of the fingers of slaves being caught in the mills and broken off, when grinding the cane. Few perhaps, if any, are known to suffer thus, except those who become stupid and careless from excess of toil, or other causes. Any candid person acquainted with the West India mode of converting the juice of the cane into sugar, will admit that it is an easy matter for a substance, like this, to go through the whole process, in the way that it unquestionably did.

The reader will make his or her own com-

ments upon the subject before us. We have never heard of either the breaking of limbs, in this way, nor the *cutting of backs in pieces* with the cart-whip (as the system of slavery permits) where those who perform the labor of the country are free. Oppressors are demons, where ever they may be:—yes *Demons!*—They outrage *human nature*, by the usurpation of authority, and then practice every *devilish* cruelty to perpetuate and give it effect.

The *second engraving* represents a young slave as *Yoked and Chained*, while at work in a cellar, in this city—(See *G. U. E.—No. 3. vol. 11.*) This is a very common mode of punishment for running away. The *Yoke* is as frequently to be seen in Maryland, as the *Clog* is in Virginia and further south.—Both are fine comments on our *Christianity and republicanism!*

Selections.

THE CONSUMERS OF WEST INDIA SUGAR. THE SUPPORTERS OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

An attempt to shew that all persons who either condemn the injustice of holding innocent British Subjects in a state of Slavery, or who deprecate the lavish sacrifice of their lives occasioned by the culture of Sugar, are bound to abstain from the use of that article.

"I pass with haste by the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffic in the human species, from which a part of our countrymen dare to derive their most inauspicious wealth. Sugar, it has been said, would be dear if it were not worked by *Blacks* in the Western Islands; as if the most laborious, the most dangerous works, were not carried on chiefly, in England, by *free men*. In fact, they are so carried on with infinitely more advantage; for there is an alacrity in the consciousness of freedom, and a gloomy sullen indolence in a consciousness of slavery. Let Sugar be as dear as it may, it is better to eat none—to eat honey, if sweetness only be palatable,—better to eat aloes or colocoquintida, than to violate a primary law of nature, impressed on every heart not imbued by avarice; than rob one human creature of those eternal rights, of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him."—"Had it been my good or bad fortune to have delivered, in the great Assembly of Representatives, the sentiments which this bosom contains, I am sensible that my public course of speaking and voting must have clashed, in a variety of instances, with my private obligations. The conflict of interfering duties constitutes, in my opinion, the nicest part of morality; on which, however, I have completely formed my system, and trust that no views of interest will prevent my practice from coinciding with my theory."

Life of Sir William Jones, by Lord Teignmouth.

In attempting at the present time to bring the case of our Colonial Bondmen

before the notice of the British Public, it would be altogether unnecessary to adduce many arguments to prove that there is no class of men whose condition is more calculated to excite their commiserations; or whose situation calls more loudly on them for redress. Whether, on the one hand, we regard the gross injustice by which these miserable victims of British avarice have been consigned to their present condition, or, on the other hand, behold them in that condition, reduced to a level with the brutes—driven by the lash to uncompensated toil—advertised for sale by public auction, and thus ignominiously disposed of "to the highest and best bidder;" and further, when we reflect that this is the result,—not of *their* crimes, but of *our own*,—it surely must be admitted that the continuance of such a bondage is a foul reproach to this country, and a disgrace to the age in which it can be tolerated.

It is now indeed universally confessed, that our Negro Slaves have been deprived of their liberty by means the most atrocious and unjust; the authors of their captivity are regarded with abhorrence, and their names have come down to posterity loaded with the execrations of mankind. But if the criminality of those who first deprived their fellow creatures of liberty be thus great, it must be equally criminal to continue to withhold from them that liberty. To whom then does this guilt belong? on whose account is this bondage continued? through whose instrumentality does it still receive its support? These are questions well deserving the serious attention of the people of this country, who with so much earnestness have denounced the evils of the Slave Trade and Slavery, who have so eloquently advocated the cause of its victims, and so unsparingly reproached the Planters and others the more immediate authors of their wrongs. And yet little examination may suffice to shew, that it is to ourselves these evils are mainly attributable; by us they have been and still are chiefly supported; and there has rarely been a case in which practice has been so glaringly at variance with profession, or the connexion existing between cause and effect so totally disregarded.

In Slavery it was that the slave trade had its origin: the market provided by the slave-holder furnished the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves, and this market, it is obvious, was supported

and maintained by those who consumed the produce of the slaves' labor;—by them, was man thus prompted to enslave his fellow man, and by them and for them is he induced still to exact the gains of oppression, still to hold fast his unhallowed usurpation. Is it not then most palpably inconsistent in those who protest against the injustice and the guilt of slavery, and profess themselves anxious for its abolition, thus to contribute to its support by purchasing the produce of the slaves' labor? Can they support the *cause*, and not be justly chargeable with the *effects* resulting from that cause? Can they pay the price at which the liberty of their fellow creatures is withheld from them, and yet not be accessories in depriving them of that liberty? Can they be *innocent* of promoting the lavish and enormous waste of life attendant on the culture of sugar, while *their money* pays the drivers for urging the torturing lash, and compensates the slave owners for the loss of life which is thus occasioned? Most assuredly not. It is a truth which the most subtle sophistry cannot evade,—that the consumers of West India Sugar are abettors of the iniquitous means by which it is produced, and the main upholders of West India Slavery, with all its abominations.

The excellent observations which stand at the head of these remarks will doubtless meet with universal approval, as respects their application to the slave trade. Who is there that would not have rejoiced had West India Sugar never been consumed? Who is there that does not unite with the sentiment, that it "is better to eat aloes or coloquintida, than to rob one human being of those eternal rights, of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him? Who is there that, to obtain an article of luxury, would *personally* be guilty of so great an outrage, or would even desire that it should be perpetrated on his account by others? No one unquestionably: and yet wherein would the conduct of such persons differ from that of those who now consume West India Sugar? Do they not support a system as unjust as the slave trade,—the original robbery? Nay, do they not support that system under which thousands of unoffending British subjects are annually born to the sad inheritance of slavery, and from the moment of their birth, are robbed of their natural rights—a robbery, which although committed on British subjects in the West Indies according to law, does ne-

vertheless constitute a capital felony if perpetrated on foreigners on the coast of Africa.

To what then are we to attribute the prevailing inconsistency in the conduct of the people of this country? Chiefly, no doubt, to the powerful effects of habit, and a want of attention to the subject. Accustomed, from early infancy, to the use of West India Sugar, it too generally happens, that the polluted means by which it is obtained, and the wretchedness which its use tends to perpetuate, are wholly disregarded. As there are, however, those who refuse to discontinue the consumption of such sugar, conceiving that its disuse would be injurious to the slaves, it becomes necessary briefly to examine this question. In this, or in any other free country, it is perfectly true that an increased demand for an article enables laborers employed in producing it to obtain higher wages, and consequently to enjoy more comforts; whilst a diminution of the demand lowers his wages, and lessens his means of subsistence; and hence those who have not considered the subject, conclude that the effect would be the same on the West India labourer: The difference between the circumstances of the two classes of laborers, however, renders the argument wholly inapplicable to the condition of the slave.—The free labourer, when the demand for labor increases, demands, and can obtain better wages; not so the West India slave; he receives no wages; he is the absolute property of another, and dares not refuse to work; while the increased demand for the produce of his labor, and the higher price resulting from it, make it the interest of his master to exact more labor from him, and consequently to increase the miseries of his lot. On the other hand, when the demand for the labor of the freeman falls off, he is obliged to take lower wages, or is perhaps reduced to great distress;—but under these circumstances, though the labor of the slave may be reduced, and he may even be thrown out of work, yet what can he possibly suffer by it? He can lose no wages, since he receives none; neither can he lose his means of subsistence, because (and this is a point which ought always to be borne in mind) he obtains in most cases nearly his entire subsistence by cultivating a small portion of land allotted to him for that purpose; and certainly a decrease in the demand for the produce of the land, or a reduction in its price, cannot have the effect of indu-

cing his master to deprive the slave of any portion of the land set apart for his subsistence, as he has himself less temptation than ever to occupy it for his own profit; nor can we suppose he will deprive the slave, without any assignable reason for doing so, of the scanty portion of time which the law allows him for cultivating it,—of time now become less valuable than ever to himself. It would be absurd in the highest degree to suppose that he would do either, and we are in possession of conclusive evidence to the contrary; since, whenever the planter has been unable to continue the culture of sugar, the condition of the Slaves has always improved, and their numbers have increased. In several West India Islands, where the soil, either is naturally poor, or has been rendered so by a long succession of exhausting crops, little or no sugar can now be raised. The proprietor of an estate in one of those islands is placed in the same situation as the proprietor of a sugar estate would be brought into by a cessation of the demand for sugar,—both being alike unable to employ their slaves profitably in raising it. Now it is found, that in these islands the slave population increases in numbers, (a satisfactory proof of an improvement in their condition,) while in those colonies where the greatest quantity of sugar can be raised, their numbers are always found to diminish. It appears by the Population Returns for a period of six years, from 1818 to 1824, (laid before Parliament in the Session of 1826-27*) that in the Bahamas, where no sugar is raised, the annual rate of increase is upwards of two per cent; in Barbadoes, where the annual quantity of sugar raised is only about 3 1-2 cwt. for each slave, the annual rate of increase is about one half per cent. In those colonies, on the contrary, where much sugar is raised the slaves always decrease; and the rate of decrease is, in general, in proportion to the quantity of sugar produced. In Demerara, where 8cwt. of sugar is annually raised for each slave, the population decreases at the rate of nearly 2 per cent. per annum; in Tobago, where, somewhat more than 8 cwt. is raised, at 2 2-1 per cent.; and in Trinidad, where nearly 12 cwt. is raised for each slave, the decrease is at the rate of nearly 3 per cent. Thus, in the course of six years, the cultivation of sugar has destroyed, in Demerara, 8574 slaves,

or one ninth part of the whole slave population; in Tobago, 2207, or one seventh; and in Trinidad, 3868, or nearly one sixth;—a rate of decrease which, if universal, would rapidly depopulate the world!*

(Conclusion in next number.)

*As the destruction of slave life forms the most appalling feature in Colonial Slavery, it is necessary to give some explanation respecting it, and also of the means by which the planters are enabled to afford such an enormous waste of their property. In the first place they are protected in this market, against the competition of better, and less destructive systems, by high discriminating duties in their favor being laid on all other sugars. Secondly they receive a bounty on refined sugar exported, which raises the price of all consumed in this country, and puts about £600,000 per annum into their pockets. Now as the amount of the loss of slave life, or of any other outlay incurred in raising sugar, can be afforded in proportion to the increased price obtained for it, this sum of £600,000, it is evident, affords the planters the means of wasting about a corresponding amount of slave life, and hence it has very appropriately been designated, a bounty on cruelty. The case of a manufacturer and his machinery in this country, is precisely analogous to that of the Planter (or manufacturer of sugar) and his human machinery in the Colonies.—As the price of produce or goods is high, they are both alike enabled to give a higher price for the machinery, and induced to employ it more, and thus to wear it out more rapidly. This murderous effect of the bounty affords a strong additional reason for declining the use of sugar; as *slave life* may be emphatically said to form a large proportion of its cost. On comparing the quantity of sugar raised in Demerara from 1818 to 1824, with the amount of the value of slave life destroyed during the same period of time, it appears that the latter amounts to about one sixth part of the net value of the sugar! Independently therefore of other considerations, this article should be singled out as peculiarly objectionable, being the main source of support to slavery, and of destruction to the slaves. The following may be considered a pretty fair statement of the effects of sugar cultivation as carried on in our Colonies in destroying or preventing the increase of population, during the period of six years above referred to.

The total decrease of the Slaves it appears was 28,000; had they increased as they do in the Bahamas, or in the United States, or as the free blacks, in Jamaica, the increase would have been 105,000 in that period. Now this added to the actual loss makes 133,000 in six years. If Slaves are valued at £46 each, which appears to be the value by the amount of sales in different Islands, it will amount to £6,118,000; but this loss is more than repaid by the bounty, which during the same period was £1,200,000, per annum, (it has since been reduced one half) making a total of £7,200,000. The beneficial effects of a diminished demand for sugar, in hastening the abolition of slavery is strikingly exhibited in this statement. Every increase of the number of the Slaves rendering them less valuable, they would at length become quite valueless as slaves, and hence their liberation would rapidly take place.

*See Antislavery Reporter, No. 26—Vol. 2. page 11.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY E. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 7. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.] OCTOBER, 1830. [WHOLE NUMBER 259. VOL. XI.

ANOTHER CHANGE OF LOCATION.

In obedience to a resolution that I formed when I commenced the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I have at length made arrangements to issue it at the seat of the General Government. The utility of this step will scarcely be questioned by any one who has reflected much upon the subject of the abolition of slavery in the United States. To become more generally acquainted with intelligent and influential men, from every part of the Union, and thus to increase the facilities of collecting and disseminating important information relative to that subject, is a desideratum. This has hitherto been with me a primary consideration in the adoption of every measure relative to a change of location.

About a twelve-month since, arrangements were made to remove this establishment to Washington. But in consequence of the violent persecution that manifested itself at that juncture, the measure was postponed. The storm has now spent its fury: and though my late coadjutor has suffered, my own head still remains unscathed, and the power of malignant corruption is defied. I therefore pursue my original intention, and take my stand where, if sufficiently patronized, I shall probably fix the permanent location of this work.

It is not my intention to present the public with a formal address upon this occasion. The work has had a circulation in the District of Columbia sufficient to make it pretty generally known. The only pledge that I have to make is, that *its character shall be maintained*. The approbation and assistance of the patriot and philanthropist, I shall rejoice to obtain. For the censure of the base and the tyrannical, I care not.

The question of the gradual and total abolition of slavery in the District appropriated to the use of the National Government, will be a prominent topic for discussion in the pages of this work.—Brief and well written essays, on *both sides*, will be admitted. Whatever may be my own predictions, relative to any proposition connected with the subject, I have resolved that *this press shall be FREE*. One man has the same "inalienable right" to express his opinion as another, on all subjects in which the public is interested; and with the editor of this work, at least, the

"right" is considered as something more than nominal.

Notwithstanding the change aforesaid, the work will still be published in Baltimore, as well as in Washington. An office will be kept in each place for the transaction of business relative to subscriptions, &c. Letters and communications, forwarded by mail, must be directed to the editor, at *Baltimore*, as usual, until further notice. When at home, he may be consulted at the Boarding House, No. 135, Market Street. When absent, the business will be attended to by William R. Jones, No. 18, Market Street. The office in Washington is at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 11th street west, 4th story; and Robert P. Anderson is authorized to act as agent, in the absence of the editor.

GARRISON'S SECOND TRIAL.

The public will be surprised to learn, that the civil suit, instituted by F. Todd, against W. L. Garrison has resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff of *One Thousand Dollars damages!!!*

A statement of the proceedings, in this case recently appeared in the *Baltimore Gazette*, and is copied below. The whole is *ex parte*, in the extreme. The defendant was absent at the time of the trial; though he had waited long, to attend it, before he left Baltimore. He confided the business to an attorney who, it appears, made *no defence!* Not even a single witness was examined!! Had a proper defence been made, a different result might have been calculated on. Yet it is doubtful whether a set of men could have been found upon earth, that would have given *such a verdict* as this jury has done. In order that their deeds may be handed down to posterity, and to use the language of the poet, their names be "damned to everlasting fame," they are here recorded, as officially furnished by an officer of the Court, viz:

Daniel W. Crocker,
Samuel D. Walker,
William H. Beatty,
John Franciscus,
George M'Dowell,
George A. Vonnegutson,
Stewart Brown,
George A. Hughes,
Andrew Crawford,
Robert Hewitt,
James W. Collins,
John Walsh.

It is probable that a more labored attempt never was made to give a coloring to a charge of libel, than has been in this case. The statements relative to the kind and merciful treatment of the slaves, their contentment, &c. &c. partake more of the character of special pleading than a narration of facts, warranted by a general knowledge of the regulations pertaining to the system of slavery. Whether the witnesses were sincerely conscientious or not, I do not take upon me to say: but it is evident that the agents and minions of the plaintiff endeavor to prove, by their statements that the system of slavery and slave trading is not so objectionable as its opponents allege.

But the most despicable actors in the whole scene, are those pseudo-philanthropists who, because the enemies of our cause have gained a temporary triumph, relax their energies, and even deal out their censures against those whose bosoms are bared to the shafts of persecution. For the honor of human nature, and for the honor of our country, it is to be hoped that these are not very numerous; though it is certain that there are some such among us. They, too, shall occupy their proper niche in the Temple of Fame.

I shall probably take another opportunity to point out some of the glaring absurdities in the *ex parte* proceedings in the case before us. I do not say that I would have used the same words that my late partner did: but I do sincerely rejoice that some of those engaged in this most abominable traffic have been exposed:—and I pledge myself that a further exposition of their “devilish deeds” shall be made, whenever I may have it in my power, and conceive that the cause of justice will be promoted thereby.

Before closing this article, I will observe, that the late Convention of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, unanimously adopted the report of a Committee appointed to investigate the subject, giving it as the opinion of that intelligent and philanthropic body, that the part of the article which our Courts and Juries have made out to be so exceedingly offensive, contained nothing of a libellous nature.* Many others well informed and learned in the law, have expressed a similar opinion.

* The following is the Report of this Committee, which was appointed at the recommendation of the President, whose interesting communication to the Convention is laid off for insertion in the next number of this work:

“The Committee to whom was referred the communication from the Chair, report,

1. That it is the opinion of your committee that nothing libellous was contained in the article for which William L. Garrison was indicted and convicted.

2. That Mr. Garrison did not surpass that liberty which is guaranteed to the press by the constitution of the United States,

The following is the statement of the trial, published in the Gazette aforesaid:

From the Baltimore Gazette.

BALTIMORE COUNTY COURT,
October Term, 1830.

Francis Todd, } Action on the case
vs. } for a libel.
William Lloyd Garrison. }

This cause was tried at the present term, before Archer, Chief Judge; the evidence on the trial was in substance as follows:

In October 1829, the ship Francis, belonging to the Plaintiff, who is a resident merchant at Newburyport, Massachusetts, on her voyage from Baltimore to New Orleans, took on board, at Herring Bay in the Chesapeake, as passengers, about eighty negroes, purchased by Mr. George B. Milligan, formerly of the State of Delaware, but for some years a Planter in Louisiana, from two gentlemen in Calvert County, for his own use. The agreement for the transportation of these people, was made by Mr. Milligan, with Captain Brown who commanded the vessel, and Mr. Henry Thompson, to whom she was consigned in Baltimore. The Plaintiff, the owner, was not consulted, nor apprised of the destination or employment of the ship, until she was about to sail. By the agreement, these people were to be found in provisions by the Captain; but solicitous for their comforts, Mr. Milligan had directed, before the vessel left Baltimore, that certain extra articles should be purchased for their use, such as blankets, shoes, hats, whiskey, sugar, tea, and a quantity of cotton shirting to be made up by the women during the passage, for themselves and children, with needles, thread, &c. amounting to \$400. The provisions on board were all of the best quality;—for instance, prime Pork, which cost \$12, and Mess Beef, which cost \$11 per barrel.

Accompanied by Mr. Milligan, these people came on board cheerfully and willingly. Their former proprietors having been compelled to part with them, they rejoiced at the prospect of still living together, instead of being separated, as they would have been if otherwise disposed of. During the voyage there was not a single instance of complaint or discontent among them;—their accommodations on board were the same as those of the steerage passengers;—no restraint was imposed on them—no confinement resorted to, no fetters used. They arrived safely at their new home, about twenty miles below New Orleans, and when Captain Brown visited the Plantation, shortly before his return to Baltimore, he found them perfectly contented.

On the 20th November, some weeks after

3. Your committee recommend that the Association enter their protest against the illegal and unconstitutional decision in Garrison's case.

4. That the communication entire be published in the Greensborough Patriot."

the ship had left Baltimore, the following article appeared in a newspaper printed in this city, "edited and published by Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison," called "Genius of Universal Emancipation."

BLACK LIST.

HORRIBLE NEWS—DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.

THE SHIP FRANCIS.

This ship, as I mentioned in our last number, sailed a few weeks since from this port with a cargo of slaves for the New Orleans market. I do not repeat the fact because it is a rare instance of domestic piracy, or because the case was attended with extraordinary circumstances; for the horrible traffic is briskly carried on, and the transportation was effected in the ordinary manner. I merely wish to illustrate New England humanity and morality. I am resolved to cover with thick infamy all who are concerned in this nefarious business.

I have stated that the ship Francis hails from my native place, Newburyport, (Massachusetts.) is commanded by a yankee captain, and owned by a townsman named

FRANCIS TODD.

Of Captain Nicholas Brown I should have expected better conduct. It is no worse to fit out piratical cruisers, or to engage in the foreign slave trade, than to pursue a similar trade along our own coasts; and the men who have the wickedness to participate therein, for the purpose of heaping up wealth, should be **SENTENCED TO SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR LIFE; [] they are the enemies of their own species—highway robbers and murderers; and their final doom will be, unless they speedily repent, to occupy the lowest depths of perdition.** I know that our laws make a distinction in this matter. I know that the man who is allowed to freight his vessels with slaves at home, for a distant market, would be thought worthy of death if he should take a similar freight on the coast of Africa; but I know, too, that this distinction is absurd, and at war with the common sense of mankind, and that God and good men regard it with abhorrence.

I recollect that it was always a mystery in Newburyport how Mr. Todd contrived to make profitable voyages to New Orleans and other places, when other merchants, with as fair an opportunity to make money, and sending at the same ports at the same time, invariably made fewer successful speculations. The mystery seems to be unravelled. Any man can gather up riches, if he does not care by what means they are obtained.

The Francis carried off *seventy-five* slaves, chained in a narrow space between decks. Captain Brown originally intended to take *one hundred and fifty* of these unfortunate creatures; but another hard-hearted shipmaster underbid him in the price of passage for the remaining moiety. Captain B. we believe, is a *snason*. Where was his charity or brotherly kindness?

I respectfully request the editor of the Newburyport Herald to copy this article, or publish a statement of the facts contained herein—not for the purpose of giving information to Mr. Todd, for I shall send him a copy of this number, but in order to enlighten the public mind in that quarter.—G.

At the succeeding February term of Baltimore City Court, the Grand Jury presented this publication as a "gross and malicious libel." They afterwards found an indictment against both the Editors, which

was at the same term tried against Garrison alone—Lundy being out of the State. The Jury, without hesitation, found a verdict of guilty, and after an ineffectual attempt to arrest the judgment, upon technical objections, the Court imposed a fine of \$50. This the Defendant was either unable or unwilling to pay, and he was therefore committed, and remained in jail for some time, till it was satisfied.

A private action for this libel had been instituted by Mr. Todd against both the Editors; but in consequence of Lundy's absence, the process was served only on Garrison, who was in fact the writer of the article. After his conviction in the City Court, he was distinctly informed through his Counsel, that as Mr. Todd had no vindictive feelings to gratify, the suit would be withdrawn, if a proper apology, and recantation of the calumny, were put upon the Record. This offer Mr. Garrison not only refused, but while in confinement, published a pamphlet containing, with his report of the trial, a republication of the libel, and a number of gross insinuations against the Chief Judge of the Court.

At the trial of the civil suit, the publication having been proved, Mr. Jones, the Pilot of the Francis, testified that the negroes were taken on board at Herring Bay, and that the ship then proceeded to Annapolis to obtain the necessary Custom House papers:—that they came on board cheerfully and willingly---and that while he remained with them, which was until he left the Capes, they appeared to be contented and happy. That unusual attention seemed to have been given to their comfort and accommodation;---their berths were commodious, the women and children being separated from the men;---their provisions abundant and of good quality;---extra stores provided for them, which were distributed daily to them by Captain Brown, and that the clothing which had been furnished by Mr. Milligan, was also given to them, and was amply sufficient for their wants. He further deposed that they were treated with kindness by Captain Brown;---that they were under no restraint, but were permitted to go about the ship by day and night, as other passengers, and that no chains, hand-cuffs, or other fetters, were used in any instance, nor did he believe that there were any on board the vessel.

The deposition of Capt. Nicholas Brown was then read by consent, in which he stated—

That about the middle of the month of September, 1829, he came on to Baltimore, to take charge of the ship Francis, of Newburyport, belonging to Francis Todd, merchant of that place, the said ship being consigned for freight or otherwise, to Henry Thompson, merchant of this city—That in the month of October following, Mr. Thompson and himself engaged to carry to New

Orleans on board the ship Francis, from seventy-five to one hundred black people, for account of Mr. Milligan, a very respectable planter on the Banks of the Mississippi; and that they made this engagement without consulting the owner of the ship, neither could he have known it, until about the time of her sailing from Baltimore. That Mr. Thompson and himself were the Agents of the Francis in Baltimore—That he sailed from the port of Baltimore with the said ship about the 20th of October, having no slaves on board, and proceeded down the Chesapeake Bay as far as Herring Cove, where he received on board of the Francis eighty-eight black passengers in families, all brought up together on two estates in Calvert County; and that they were all perfectly willing to come on board the ship—nor was any one required to compel them, they having a perfect understanding with their new master, Milligan, who was present at the time of their embarkation, that they were not to be sold again at New Orleans—but that he intended them all for his own estate. That Mr. Thompson and Deponent provided for them on board the ship, previous to her departure from Baltimore, the best provisions: in addition to which, by request of Mr. Milligan, Mr. Thompson put on board, expressly for their use, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, whiskey, tobacco, &c. &c. with every kind of convenience for using the same, and clothing of every description to make them comfortable, which was dealt out to them day after day, while on the passage, at my discretion; that they all expressed much satisfaction at their treatment while on board the ship; that they had their perfect liberty on board, and that their conduct was good at all times; that they needed not chains or confinement, nor was any one of them put in chains or confined during the whole passage. That after Deponent took them on board, he returned up the Bay as far as Annapolis, where they were all examined by an officer of the Customs, and regularly cleared from that port for New Orleans. That about the middle of November he landed them all in good health and spirits, on the plantation for which they were intended, belonging to Mr. Milligan, 17 or 20 miles below the city of New Orleans. That their quarters on board the ship Francis were large *and not narrow*, that all of them had good comfortable sleeping places or berths, and that they were well provided with a plenty of blankets, &c. &c.—that the ship's hatches were never closed on them during the whole passage for any other purpose than to protect them from rough and wet weather and make them comfortable. Finally, from the very high opinion Deponent has of the honor and integrity of Mr. Milligan, their owner, he considers his act in carrying these people away as one of the best of his life.

Let it be remembered, that he was not the

cause of their bondage, but that he has actually relieved their condition in some degree by carrying them to a climate much more congenial to their nature. Mr. Francis Todd and Deponent were brought up together at Newburyport, from children, and he has known both him and his business up to this time, and never knew him to carry slaves in any of his vessels, and he verily and conscientiously believes he never had a slave or slaves carried in any vessel of his to any part of the world, except in the solitary instance of the ship Francis aforesaid, and he knows that he never owned a slave in his life.

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Sworn and subscribed to before

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Should the inquisitive and the curious insist upon a more explicit declaration, I would further say, that the projects of this lady, respecting a Community System, appear to me as visionary; and I believe that her notions of religion and her sentiments relative to matrimony, if generally understood, square not with the philosophy of human nature.

But it is not my province to deny her (nor any one else) the privilege of expressing their opinions, as freely as I wish to express my own. Herein, I may, perhaps, offend the weak and narrow-minded; but if so, while I regret the circumstance, I shall not suffer it to trouble my mind. I take a pleasure in quoting a maxim of the patriotic and philanthropic Jefferson—one of the proudest ornaments of this Republic, in his day—viz: "Error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it." No good ever resulted from an attempt, in cases of this nature, to stifle the human voice, or to muzzle the press.—Both should be as free as the air of heaven.—But when error and heresies are propagated, they should be promptly met, with reason, expostulation, and the overpowering argument of truth. Nothing is to be feared from the free exercise of opinion. If error, vice, and wickedness abound, let the advocates of truth, virtue, and religion, do their duty. If they do this, their triumph is certain; and nothing is to be apprehended from the promulgators of unsound doctrines.

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determined to liberate all his slaves for the purpose of colonizing them in Africa; the males at 25, and the females at 21 years of age. Two or three are to be emancipated this season.

A gentleman in New York writes, "I own in Savannah a colored man, to whom I have offered the option of going to the American Colony in Africa. I am informed that he consents to go, and the owner of his wife and children is willing that they should go likewise. The man in question is a sober and industrious mechanic, originally from Africa."

FREE AND SLAVE POPULATION.

When the returns of the recent census shall be published, a general table will be made out, showing the relative numbers of the white and colored, as well as the free and slave population of the United States, together with the relative increase of the different classes, for the last ten years. In the meantime, the following view of the present numbers, in several different places, may not be uninteresting to the reader.

	White.	Free Colored.	Slaves.
Baltimore,	61,518	14,666	4,121
Princess Ann. Md.	280	57	254
Richmond, Va.	7,748	1,958	6,351
Petersburg, Va.	3,433	2,024	2,843
Winchester, Va.	2,696	261	655
Wheeling, Va.	5,016	94	101
Yorkville, S. C.	230	—	284
Savannah, Geo.	3,490	607	3,016
Wilmington, Del.	5,222	1,384	14

PREMIUM FOR A TRACT.

The following article recently appeared in the *United States' Gazette*. The gentlemen whose names are signed to this notice are among the most respectable and influential members of the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania. The first named is an eminent lawyer, of Philadelphia, and the second is the Treasurer of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery.

PREMIUM.

A Premium of Fifty Dollars, the Donation of a benevolent Individual in the State of Maine, and now deposited with the Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. is offered to the author of the best Treatise on the following subject: "The Duties of Ministers and Churches of all denominations to avoid the stain of Slavery and to make the holding of Slaves a barrier to communion and church membership."

The composition to be directed (post paid) to either of the subscribers—the name of the

author in a separate sealed paper, which will be destroyed if his work shall be rejected.

Six months from this date are allowed for the purpose of receiving the Essays.

The publication and circulation of the preferred Tract will be regulated by the Pennsylvania Society above mentioned.

W. RAWLE,

J. PRESTON,

THOMAS SHIPLEY,

Philadelphia, Oct. 11. Committee.

Editors friendly to the Abolition of Slavery will please insert the above.

THE COLONY IN CANADA.

In the last number of this work, mention was made of the meeting of a Convention of colored people, in Philadelphia, to devise measures for the promotion of this important scheme. The address from that body, to the people of the United States, is inserted below. It is an important document, and deserves the perusal of every friend of the colored race.

A very handsome map of that part of Canada, including the tract appropriated for their settlements, has just been published by Hezekiah Grice, (a colored man,) of Baltimore. It is sold at the low price of *twenty-five cents*, in order to place it within the reach of the colored people generally. Many among the most intelligent and wealthy of them, from Virginia and the States further South, are going, and preparing to go, with the view of settling that fine country.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

As much anxiety has prevailed on account of the enactment of laws in several States of the Union, especially that of Ohio, abridging the liberties and privileges of the free people of color, and subjecting them to a series of privations and sufferings, by denying them a right of residence, unless they comply with certain requisitions not exacted of the whites, a course altogether incompatible with the principles of civil and religious liberty—

In consideration of which, a delegation* was appointed from the States of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, to meet in convention in Philadelphia, to consider the propriety of forming a settlement in the Province of Upper Canada, in order to afford a place of refuge to those who may be obliged to leave their homes, as well as to others inclined to emi-

*In consequence of not having had timely notice, delegates from other sections of the country did not attend; though it is hoped that at the convention on the first Monday in June next, there will be a more general representation.

grate with the view of improving their condition.

The said convention accordingly met in the Bethel Church, city of Philadelphia, on the 20th September, 1830; and having fully considered the peculiar situation of many of their brethren, and the advantages to be derived from the proposed settlement, adopted the following communication.

To the free People of color of these United States.

Brethren—Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being taught by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with unalienable rights, among which are the enjoyments of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Viewing these as incontrovertible facts, we have been led to the following conclusions, that our forlorn and deplorable situation earnestly and loudly demand of us, to devise and pursue all legal means, for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men.

And in pursuit of this great object, various ways and means have been resorted to; among others, the African Colonization Society is the most prominent, not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet we beg leave to say, that it does not meet our approbation. However great the debt which these United States may owe to Africa, and however unjustly her sons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still, we who have been born and nurtured on this soil, we, whose habits, manners and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that society, to that much afflicted country.

Tell it not to Barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilized, and eject our Christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the States of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren, to leave their homes, and seek an asylum in foreign climes: and in taking a view of the unhappy situation of many of these, whom the oppressive laws alluded to continually crowd into the Atlantic cities, dependent for their support upon their daily labor, and who often suffer for want of employment, we have had to lament that no means had yet been devised for their relief.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion, that the formation of a settlement in the British Province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of color; in accordance with these views, we pledge ourselves to aid each other by all

honorable means, to plant and support one in that country, and therefore we earnestly and most feelingly appeal to our colored brethren, and to all philanthropists here and elsewhere, to assist in this benevolent and important work.

To encourage our brethren earnestly to co-operate with us, we offer the following, viz: 1st. Under that government, no invidious distinction of color is recognized, but there we shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens. 2d. That the language, climate, soil, and productions are similar to those in this country. 3d. That land of the best quality can be purchased at the moderate price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre by the one hundred acres. 4th. The market for different kinds of produce raised in that colony, is such as to render a suitable reward to the industrious farmer, equal in our opinion to that of the United States. And lastly, as the erection of buildings must necessarily claim the attention of the emigrants, we would invite the mechanics from our large cities, to embark in the enterprise, the advancement of architecture depending much on their exertions, as they must consequently take with them the arts and improvements of our well regulated communities.

It will be much to the advantage of those who have large families, and desire to see them happy and respected, to locate themselves in a land where the laws and prejudices of society will have no effect in retarding their advancement to the summit of civil and religious improvement. There the diligent student will have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance; whilst those of moderate attainments, if properly nurtured, may be enabled to take their stand as men in the several offices and situations necessary to promote union, peace, order, and tranquillity. It is to these we must look for the strength and spirit of our future prosperity.

Before we close we would just remark, that it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people, have not availingly appreciated every opportunity placed within our power, by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen.—That our mental and physical qualities have not been more actively engaged in pursuits more lasting, is attributable in great measure to a want of unity amongst ourselves; whilst our only stimulus to action has been to become domestics, which at best is but a precarious and degraded situation.

It is to obviate these evils, that we have recommended our views to our fellow citizens in the foregoing instrument, with a desire of raising the moral and political standing of ourselves; and we cannot devise any plan more likely to accomplish this end, than by encouraging agriculture and me-

chanical arts; for by the first we shall be enabled to act with a degree of independence, which as yet has fallen to the lot of but few among us, and the faithful pursuit of the latter, in connexion with the sciences, which expand and ennoble the mind, will eventually give us the standing and condition we desire.

To effect these great objects, we would earnestly request our brethren throughout the United States to co-operate with us by forming societies *auxiliary* to the parent institution about being established in the city of Philadelphia, under the patronage of the GENERAL CONVENTION: and we further recommend to our friends and brethren who reside in places where, at present, this may be impracticable, so far to aid us, by contributing to the funds of the parent institution, and if disposed, to appoint one delegate to represent them in the next convention, to be held in Philadelphia, the first Monday in June next, it being fully understood, that organized societies be at liberty to send any number of delegates not exceeding five.

Finally, we tender our sincere thanks to the board and teachers of schools, for the education of poor and indigent colored children, to the members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, and to the true friends of humanity every where.

Signed by order of the Convention.

Rev. RICHARD ALLEN, President,
Senior Bishop of the African
Methodist Episcopal Churches.

JUNIUS C. MOREL, Secretary.

ANOTHER PURLOINER.

A letter lately received by the editor of this work, from a friend in Indiana, containing a \$5 Bank Note, when mailed, was broken open, and the money taken out.—The writer states, in a second letter, that he had just been informed, previous to sending the first, that several had been purloined in the western part of Pennsylvania, and feared at the time that it would be the fate of his own. The utmost vigilance is now requisite to guard against impositions of this kind. Subscribers to this work are, however, still requested to remit through the post-office, when they have no other safe opportunity.

The editor takes the risk upon himself, though he expects the postage to be paid.

PATRONISING NEWSPAPERS.

A case, very interesting to the publishers of periodicals, and their "patrons," was recently decided in New York. The principle

was confirmed, that *those who receive papers, without ordering them discontinued, SHALL PAY FOR THEM.*

I have been too busily engaged with other matters, the present month, to prepare any thing for the *Biographical Department*. It will be attended to hereafter.

ERRATUM.

The article headed "National Politics," inserted in the last number of this work, contained an important error. That part of the sentence which runs thus—"the system of slavery is no state-right matter"—should read: no mere state-right matter. The omission of the word "mere" essentially changes the meaning.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

Mr. Lundy—Amidst the trials and persecution which surround you, if a word of encouragement from a distant quarter will cheer you, we give it with all our hearts.—The unjust sentence against your friend, and our friend, and the friend of humanity, (Mr. Garrison,) calls for the expression of our sympathy—for the loud and rebuking voice of public opinion—and for the more vigorous and bold exertions of every friend to liberty. We would say to brother Garrison, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church,"—the death of patriots, the life of their country—the cruelty of tyrants, their own destruction.

"Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause bled nobly. And their deeds, as they deserve, receive proud recompense. But fairer wreaths are due, though seldom paid, to him who, posted at the shrine of truth, has fallen in her defence."

We can only say to you and your ardent fellow laborer to "ward" "above,"—to the cheering voice of conscience—to the hope—yes, the full assurance of hope that the cause you have espoused is the cause of truth and righteousness, and will prevail.—Every yoke must be broken. It was cheering, indeed, to see your paper in the very midst of oppression and cruelty—an engine upon the tower, overlooking the whole field of cruelty—playing with energy upon every secret hiding place of the enemy—bringing to light the hidden things of darkness—and rolling on the stupid ears of oppression, the tingling accents of guilt—bloodstained guilt—guilt rising to heaven and pleading even at the mercy seat for vengeance. And we say, speak on;—hold not your peace—not "till your voice is lost in death." Israel did not understand, at first, that God would deliver them by the hand of Moses—and for forty years longer bore the yoke: We must bear the curse of slavery longer.

LADIES' REPOSITORY

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

MATERNAL INFLUENCE.

"The immense force of *first* impressions is on the side of the mother. In the moral field she is a privileged laborer. Ere the dews of morning begin to exhale she is there. She breaks up a soil which the root of error and the thorns of prejudice have not pre-occupied. She plants germs whose fruit is for eternity."

Mrs. Sigourney.

Is there one among our maternal readers who will not pause upon the above impressive lines, to reflect for a moment on the awful responsibility of her station? Will not the name of Africa—poor injured Africa—rise to her thoughts, and her heart swell and her eyes moisten with the high resolve that she, at least, will never lead the young beings who are sporting by her side to become instruments in the work of oppression? Will she not remember that the fate of thousands may perhaps be measurably committed to her hand—that she may bring the rosy lip, now running over with the fulness of its innocent mirth, to pledge holy vows at the altar of Emancipation, and that all its eloquence shall be poured out in the defence of the oppressed—or that her tuition may prepare another auxiliary for the ranks of the powerful oppressor. Let her not think it a matter of indifference, that they should now, in their thoughtless infancy, be the innocent upholders of a system, which in after life they ought to abhor. A misplaced indulgence now may make the beauties of life of higher consequence to them than the rights and tears of thousands;—the gratification of your own loving vanity in their attire may render of no avail the lessons of a life time. Do not say it would be folly to impose such restrictions upon children. Nothing can be folly which teaches them the noble virtue of self-denial in a righteous cause. Teach them early to pity the poor slave. Let their sacrifices be made voluntarily; as they will be, if the reason and feelings have been trained properly; and they will not be felt as such. Surely children cannot be too early taught that their own pleasures should never infringe upon the rights of another. It is a lesson that must be commenced with the first awakening of reason to be inculcated efficiently

and when ye look upon them in the purity of their early years, let not their forms be arrayed in a garb that may well be to you a dark omen of the sin that will fling its evil mantle over their coming hours.

"INQUIRIES RELATING TO NEGRO EMANCIPATION."

The subject of emancipation is now no longer, as it has been, one of interest only to a few individuals, but is it gradually, almost rapidly, we might say, assuming the important station which it assuredly ought to occupy, in the reflections of thousands. In England particularly, a spirit of inquiry into the wrongs and sufferings of the injured race of Africa, is taking place of the apathy with which they have been so long regarded; and we believe the West India slaves may look forward to no very distant day for deliverance from their bonds. Still even in England the friends of emancipation have much to contend with, not only from the avowed hostility of the prejudiced and interested, but from the inertness of the indolent, and the faint-heartedness of the timid *well-wishers* to their cause. It is to such as these, that the pamphlet, whose name has given a heading to this article is particularly addressed. It is the production of a female pen, and is not exceeded in interest, particularly as regards the numerous anecdotes, illustrative of Negro character, with which it abounds, by any thing of the kind that we have lately had the pleasure of perusing. The author advocates immediate emancipation; and in order to demonstrate the propriety as well as the justice of the measure—after an examination into the changes that would be produced in the state of things by the manumission of the slaves, and the probable effects that would result from those changes, introduces a number of "well authenticated facts and statements concerning the Negro character, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it is such as to dispose them to be inimical to the whites, or to become idle and disorderly members of society," and to show satisfactorily "what the conduct and condition of emancipated slaves have actually been in various places, times, and circumstances."

"The objections," says the author, commonly urged against immediate emancipation are: That the enfranchised Negroes would be likely to act with violence towards the white inhabitants of the colonies—that they would bring the planters to ruin, by refusing to work for them—and that they would be incapable of taking care of their own interests."

The objections to these arguments are drawn from the general character of the Negro race—

from their remarkable attachment to the spot where they have long resided, and where the remains of their relatives have been interred—from their increased industry, when the stimulant of wages has been employed to invite them to labor, instead of the lash of the task master—and their uniformly peaceable and subordinate behaviour when casual circumstances have at times placed the white population of the islands almost wholly at their mercy. With respect to the character of the so often calumniated son of Africa, it is said: "From a great number of statements, made by persons of various classes residing in the colonies, it appears that the natural disposition of the Negro is gentle, amiable, grateful, affectionate, and docile; that he is remarkably subject to the influence of religion, both on his feelings and on his conduct; and that he is active and laborious when placed in circumstances in which his conduct can be improved by the exercise of industry. These particulars I shall proceed to prove, by a series of extracts from the writings of many persons of the greatest respectability." Of these extracts we have room only for a few short paragraphs.

"The following anecdote is told by the Rev. Mr. Shrewsbury:—A free young Negro in Grenada, who had been apprenticed to a stone-mason, when he had served his apprenticeship, being very industrious, he laid by his earnings, and when he had obtained £160 his first act was to purchase the freedom of his mother. He continued to lay by his money till he bought the freedom of one of his brothers, and when I left the island he was about to purchase the liberation of another of them.

"The following circumstance occurred during the Maroon war, and is said to be well attested by several respectable eye witnesses. During the ambuscade attack of the Maroons on Lieutenant Colonel Sandford's party of dragoons and militia, at a narrow defile leading from the New to Old Trelawny Maroon town, a gentleman's Negro servant being close to his master, and observing a Maroon piece levelled at him, he instantly threw himself between him and the danger, and received the shot in his body.

"The following remarks on the disposition and habits of the Negro slaves are made by Mr. Walter, a West India proprietor, who had the direction of the late crown estates at Berbice, under the commissioners for crown property:—There are no people more capable of being fairly reasoned with; none can be made more sensible of right and wrong. A system of improved treatment, when regularly established and impartially persevered in, commands the respect, obedience, and attachment of a gang of

Negroes, beyond what can be believed by persons who have never tried the experiment."

"The following statement is made by Dr. Williamson, a physician who lived fourteen years in Jamaica, and who is a warm friend of the West Indians:—'A melancholy instance presented itself that month, of the fatality resulting from packed Negro gangs, or those formed from Marshal's sales, and collected in small numbers from different places. I do not mean to blame the proprietor; for never could a master have rendered the duties of humanity more amply than he did; yet a depression of mind accompanied by *mal d'estomac*, spread among them. Though wine, nourishment of every description, and kind attention were given them, they candidly confessed that death was their wish, and not to survive their companions.'"

So much for the murderous system of the slave trade! One other extract, and we have done.

"That the emancipated slaves in the colonies maintain themselves by their own industry, appears plainly from the returns of paupers made by the colonies. 'The enfranchised population of all the West Indies are generally free from want, live in comfort, and accumulate property.' That they are generally placed above want, appears from this; that though their number amounts to about 90,000 yet, of that number, only 227 appear to have received even occasional relief as paupers during the years 1821 to 1825. Of about 65,000 whites, in the same time, 1675 received relief."

We consider these facts highly important, since they satisfactorily prove that the blacks will work without compulsion; and where men are industriously employed for their own benefit there is but little cause for apprehension of their proving other than peaceable and valuable citizens.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO ANNETTE.

The broad eyed moon! its holy beams
Are falling round thee like a veil,
As at this hour of wizzard dreams,
Thou listenest to old memory's tale.
I am not by thy side to-night,
As we of erst have read her brow,
As 'twere a page of written light,
Where words might be remember'd now.

Thy thoughts?—in yonder mirror fair
Methinks their shadowed form I see,
And parted—sever'd as we are,
I know that they are still with me.
And we have parted—we Annette!
The closely linked in friendship's bond—
Whose hands so long have daily met,
Whose love no cloud till now hath found.

Yet what is parting grief like ours,
Though sister-like our love hath been,
To that which *their* wild hearts devour,
The sever'd from each well known scene—
Whom heartless—fiend-like av'rice tears
From love, and home, and father land,
To wear a life of toilsome years,
Unfriendly midst a stranger band?

The mother, parted from the eyes
Whose glances made her fond heart's food,
And forced to still her anguish'd cries,
With stripes that turn her tears to blood—
The weeping daughter—sister—wife—
Wrench'd from the ties of home and hearth—
Oh! theirs are woes that darken life,
And make a wilderness of earth. E.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

A SKETCH.

Shall I describe to you our low and lone house of worship, as it stands in the deep quiet of its solitude, at the edge of the old wood? On one side of it there is clearing, and the fence stretches down close beside it, and not very far distant, behind a gentle swell of the ground, you may even see the roof of a dwelling house; but the only paths to it are through the woods, nor, as you look back among the trees through which you have just passed, can you discover one trace of cultivated life, one token that the beautiful wilderness—for it is indeed beautiful—has ever been trodden by other feet than those of its aboriginal lords, except that the "trail" of the Indian hunter, has grown into a wider and more beaten path.

You know the hushed, dreaminess of repose that sometimes attends upon an August morning;—when the lightest zephyrs seem to sleep perfectly among the loose leaves, and the shadows of the highest branches lie unmoving upon the ground, except when sometimes the low whisper of a breeze comes creeping in among them with its faint voice, and steals away almost as musically as the passing tones of a half wakened æolian. There is a low and monotonous insect hum upon the air, but, save an infrequent chirp from their leafy recesses, the wood-birds seem to have forgotten their language of song, and the flowers remember no more the wild glee with which they tossed their beautiful heads to the playful caresses of the morning air. It was of such a quiet Sabbath that I would tell you.

When last I had met with those who "gathered to the house of Prayer," it was in the confined atmosphere of a crowded city, where range after range of close buildings stretched before the eye, and multitudes thronged the broad doors of their many temples. Now I was in a rude tree built cabin, with the yet scarcely redeemed wilderness spread all round in the impressive majesty of its silence, and the broad blue sky bended over it like a mighty canopy. What a contrast? I thought how the power of an eloquent lip would be felt there—how the heart would crouch and quake under its rebukes, like a reed shivering to the tempest. I thought too of the churches of our southern land,—where the richly attired worshippers before a gorgeous altar, proudly claim to be "lords over God's heritage," and while they bow down in the presence of a Deity of universal love, despise and oppress the beings whom he has given unto them for brethren. Where the

very pastor, perhaps, almost before the last echo of his holy text hath died away—"All things whatsoever ye would that men would do unto you, do ye even so unto them"—with the last words of his prayer for a blessing almost yet upon his lip, will go out and command to lacerate with the vile scourge, the limbs of one whom he hath but now acknowledged in the face of God to be his brother;—or on the morrow will enter into a strange traffic with human flesh, and dash aside the fine chords of tenderness in the heart, as if they were valueless as the slight meshes of a spider's web. How could the thoughts go up on a fetterless wing to heaven in such a scene?

But here there was no thought of slavery—none of oppression. No one shrunk back scornfully from the grasp of a hand—hard though it might be, and rough with the toil of many seasons, that was tendered in friendly fellowship. They feared not, as they lifted up their hearts in worship to their Maker, that even then perhaps ruin and death might be plotting around them. There were no shadowy forms with wild supplicating eye to come and stand beside them as if to intercept their prayers and whisper in their ears bitter denunciations for their want of mercy; and better—far better—was that rude hut for a gathering place of prayer, than the proud pile whose magnificence has been wrung from the hand of unrewarded labor. GERTRUDE.

HYMN.

SUNG AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF KENTON COLLEGE, 1830.

"To Proclaim Liberty to the Captive."

Captives in exile groaning
Neath slavery's galling chains!
Heathens in darkness roaming
O'er Afric's thirsty plains!
Christians of every nation!
Friends of the wretched slave!
O shout with adoration,
For Jesus comes to save.

Praise him with songs of gladness,
Let every tear be dry,
He comes to banish sadness,
And 'stablish equity;
He comes in peace from heaven
To burst each bond in twain,
To save the blinded heathen,
And break the captive's chain.

Full many a bark is steering
O'er ocean's heaving breast,
Full many an exile bearing
To peace, and home, and rest;
Soon Afric's darkest nation
Thy name, O Lord, shall hear;
The rose of thy salvation
Shall bloom unfading there.

Soon rivers gently flowing
The burning land shall bless,
The roses ever blowing
Deck the wild wilderness;
While in soft dews descending,
The spirit from above
Shall spread the never ending—
The blissful reign of love.

O Jesus! let thy story
Throughout the world be known,

Awake the song of glory,
And break the heart of stone,
Till every soul is lighted,
Till every slave is free,
Till every realm benighted
Bows down, O Lord, to thee.

H. C.

DIALOGUE,

*Between a well-wisher and a Friend to the Slaves,
in the British Colonies.*

BY A LADY.

(Continued.)

B. But Government ought to take up the cause of these poor creatures; and if they neglect to do so, Parliament should interfere: it is their business, and I dare say they will not forget it: or if they should, the people will surely remind them of it by their petitions.

A. I hope too (at least I wish) that Government, Parliament, and the people, may do their duty; but if we also have a duty incumbent on us, we are not at liberty to delay its performance till we see whether other people will do theirs; and should they not do so, their conduct so far from furnishing us with the shadow of an excuse, will make it still more requisite that we should do what is in our power to repair their neglect, or to induce them to repair it. And if we should neglect our duty in this affair, we should be even more inexcusable than government, which has difficulties to struggle with owing to the strength of the West India interest; and a great number of the members of parliament in both houses, are either themselves possessed of West India property, or intimately connected with those that are, and are therefore probably under the influence of early instilled prejudices, or of the mighty power of supposed self-interest. From these shackles most of us are free, and therefore if it is our duty to help the cause of the slaves, we have not even these poor excuses to plead for not doing so. As to your remark that the people will remind parliament of their duty by petitioning, surely it makes against yourself: don't you perceive that if the women of England did all that they can do by informing themselves thoroughly concerning the oppressed condition of the slaves, making it generally known, and endeavouring to persuade their relations and friends to do their duty, this course would tend to increase the number of petitions?

B. I suppose it would; and so far the interference of women might have a good effect, though I think there are many objections to it. At least I cannot help thinking you go too far in speaking of it as a duty: some of the most religious people I know, and who are far better in all respects than I can ever pretend to be, decline taking any part in this business.

A. I am aware that some professors of religion do refuse to help the cause of the slaves in any manner. I must take it for granted, that before they formed this stern resolve, they satisfied their own minds that when the Son of man will say, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me," he will mean only "to the least of these white-skinned ones," and will not consider the poor negro as a part of those with whom he so compassionately and tenderly identifies himself. As I cannot even conjecture by what arguments they have thus persuaded themselves, I can say nothing to them; but to you I must say, that you will pur-

sue a most dangerous course if you allow yourself to follow the example of even the best persons in any part of their conduct, of the rectitude of which you are not fully assured. The utmost degree of deference that conscience allows us to pay to any persons in this respect, is that of inquiring their reasons for that part of their conduct which we do not understand, and following their example if their reasons satisfy our mind that we are at liberty to do so.

B. But I really think women ought not to interfere in this business, on account of its being a political question: for women have nothing to do with such subjects; they are quite out of their province, and I think it is not consistent with propriety and hardly with feminine modesty, that they should put themselves forward on this occasion.

A. I own I have never been able to affix any clear meaning to the expression you have just used, and which I have often heard before, that this is a political question. It appears to me to be peculiarly a religious and moral question.—But I suppose the objection must mean that the object aimed at is an alteration in the laws, and that as women are not legislators, they should not interfere in a question which is to come before parliament. I cannot see the slightest force in the argument, that because women can have no part in the final decision, they ought not to take any in helping on the subject towards that decision: as well might it be said, that it is improper for women to put their poor neighbours in the way of receiving medical aid—wrong to provide them with sittings in a church or decent clothes to appear in there—wrong to help them to pay law expenses when they are injured—for women are not physicians, clergymen, or lawyers, and therefore ought not to put themselves forward on medical, clerical, or legal subjects. Their attempts to aid the slaves are as far from being of a political nature, as the services above enumerated are from being of a medical, clerical, or legal nature. And besides, they do not even venture themselves to petition, they only try to call the attention of the men of their acquaintance or neighbourhood, to facts that may induce them to take the step of petitioning.

Could any woman have been reproved for stepping out of her department and becoming a political character, if a short time ago she had taken pains to collect instances of innocent persons killed and wounded by spring-guns, and shown them to her male acquaintances, in the hope that they would take the proper steps to remove the evil? No, surely; although her ultimate object would have been to procure the enactment of a new law, if the evil she sought to remove could not be got rid of in any other way. As to modesty, I own I cannot see how it would be offended by any of the exertions you are requested to make. To read and lend books no one can think a breach of feminine modesty; nor to speak to female friends or neighbours; nor, surely, to remind or beg the men of your family to think of the slaves; nor to choose what kind of sugar should be used in your family: nor can I possibly think there would be any offence to modesty, in meeting some of the ladies of your neighbourhood to talk over your plans, and endeavouring to make your efforts more effectual by uniting in a society; or, at least, I must believe that charity, which is greater

hope and faith, is abundantly greater than such a treble-refined modesty as this. If however you are persuaded that it would be unfeminine or unlady-like to meet your neighbours in this work and associate yourself with them, you can decline that part of the plan without refusing to join in the others to which the most fastidiously decorous cannot find any thing to object on the score of modesty.

B. Well, I can't say I have any very clear idea myself of what is meant by its being a political question; but whether it may be proper or not for other women to take a part in it, it is impossible for me to do so on account of my West India connections.

A. If a connection of yours were in possession of an estate which you knew to be the real property of one who was suffering great distress and become almost an outcast from society owing to his being deprived of it, but which the possessor was determined not to give up, because he had been brought up from his infancy to consider it as lawfully his own, in consequence of his father having bought it from one who had become fraudulently possessed of it, would you consider yourself at liberty to withhold the evidence in your power to offer, or the assistance in your power to give, to help the wronged and suffering lawful owner to recover his property?

B. No—but

A. Then how can you justify your refusal to join in the attempt to restore the poor negro to his just rights, because your connection wishes that he should continue to be deprived of them? The slave has been deprived of that property which is more truly his than any estate can be the property of its owner—himself. Your connection is probably so blinded by the prejudices in which he has been brought up, as to think he is not (or at least not to feel sure that he is) doing wrong in keeping this property from the right owner, though by so doing he almost degrades him to a different class of beings—but you know, though he may not, that religion and justice imperiously demand that the negro should be restored to the possession of himself, and if you do not attend to their call and do your part towards answering it, I fear that friendship will furnish as inadmissible an excuse for not acting conscientiously, as self-interest would do if the property were in your possession. True friendship however and conscience are not perhaps in this case at variance in any respect; I believe you could not do your friend a greater service in any way than by procuring the emancipation of his slaves.

B. Do him a service! He says it would be his utter ruin.

A. From what I have heard I believe, on the contrary, that it would be beneficial to him even in his pecuniary concerns, as slave-labour is said by persons who appear to have studied the subject very carefully, to be much more expensive than free labour; but I do not pretend fully to understand this part of the subject, and it was not to it that I referred when I said it would be a benefit to the master to emancipate the slave. Tell me, don't you think if you were doing wrong, your friends would do a kind thing by taking measures (I only speak of such measures as they have a right to take) which would prevent your going on in that course, even though it should be against your will? In the hard situation in which circumstances, over which he

may have had no control, have placed the West India proprietor, he is on either hand in danger of being led to do wrong. If he does not live on his estate he abandons a number of human beings whose happiness is completely at his mercy, and whom it is as much his duty to take care of, as it is to take care of his own children; he leaves them to the control of others whose conduct he cannot superintend, and who from the corrupting influence of the state of society in which they live, and from other circumstances, are peculiarly liable to abuse the almost uncontrolled authority with which they are invested. If, on the other hand, to avoid this culpable desertion of his charge, he resides on his property, he is in great danger of becoming himself corrupted by the fatal influence of slavery. The natural tendency of the situation in which a planter residing in the colonies is placed, is to injure his moral feelings, and to make him feel towards a portion of his fellow-creatures as man ought never to feel towards man. Of this melancholy truth innumerable instances might be given. Some individuals, no doubt, escape from the injurious effects of the possession of despotic power, and possibly some (like the excellent Mr. Steele) may be led by the possession of colonial property, to higher exertions of virtue than they might otherwise ever have made. But we know that wherever an injurious influence exists the majority will suffer by it, and therefore I repeat it would be true friendship to help to rescue your connection, even against his will, from a situation in which strong temptation to wrong conduct assails him on either side.

(Conclusion next week.)

DEPARTMENT FRANCAIS.

L'Editeur du Génie de l'émancipation universelle trouvant de grandes difficultés à se procurer des articles en français se propose de discontinuer les publications régulières. Lorsque cet ouvrage embrassait les nouvelles du jour, il étoit facile de puiser dans les journaux étrangers et les domestiques; mais comme très peu de feuilles traitent maintenant de l'esclavage, et que l'Editeur du Génie, ne connaissant pas la langue française, ne peut obtenir de traduction sans beaucoup de dépense, il se voit avec regret, forcé de se borner à donner de temps en temps, seulement, les articles qui lui paroîtront devoir intéresser les lecteurs français.

[TRANSLATION.]

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, finding it inconvenient to furnish matter for the French Department, proposes to discontinue the regular publication of articles in that language. While the work embraced the general news of the day, it was easy to procure matter ready prepared, from foreign and domestic periodicals. But as few of those now existing, touch upon the subject of slavery, and as the editor of this work is himself unacquainted with the French language, and can seldom get articles translated without incurring considerable expense, he feels necessitated to take the step above mentioned. When any thing relative to slavery, more than usually important to French readers, shall occur, an article in that language will be occasionally inserted, if convenient to prepare it. The editor regrets the necessity of pursuing this course; but it is unavoidable.

BLACK LIST.

[F] The engravings, that were not forwarded to subscribers, for the last number, accompany the present.

RUMORS OF "INSURRECTIONS."

We still have various reports of *meditated* insurrections among the slaves of the South. At Wilmington, N. C. and at Nashville, Tenn. it is *said* plottings (or *intended* plottings!) have been discovered.

It is not likely that there is a word of truth in these reports. Like the late despicable affair on the Eastern Shore, in Maryland, the whole has probably arisen from the imaginary fear inspired by the conscious guilt of oppression, and a desire for an excuse to increase the burdens and restrictions of the miserable slaves. This is the nature of despots, the world over. They never calculate that, to do an injured people *justice* is the way to secure their good behaviour; but persist in drawing the cord of tyranny tighter and tighter, until its very tension sunders it, and leaves the maddened and vengeful lion unbound, to rend and trample whom he finds in his way! When, alas! will men learn wisdom from experience?

KIDNAPPING.

The following is copied from the *Belfast (Ireland) Constitutional Advocate*, of Aug. 13th. I very lately obtained a copy of it, and have not yet inquired whether the person alluded to is known in Baltimore. I have no doubt, however, of the correctness of the narration:—Hundreds of other cases, equally interesting in many respects, have occurred at different times; and we have no cause to suspect the truth of the statement before us.

From the Belfast Constitutional Advocate.

"Yesterday, at 11 o'clock, a very curious and interesting case of Slavery underwent investigation at the Police Office before C. M. Skinner Esq. J. P. Wm. John Brown, aged about 50 years, was brought before the gentlemen under the following remarkable circumstances:—Brown was, as stated, a free black, born in Baltimore, and had a wife and family of five children, who resided with him in his own house. His domestic happiness, however, was effectually destroyed by some of that class of men styled, in America, Slave speculators, by whom he was kidnapped, and having been detained in their custody three days without food, he was suddenly hurried away by night, and compelled to cross the country in such a manner as rendered it impossible for him to form any idea of the route taken by the ruffians who had inhumanly torn him from the bosom of his family.—Thus circumstanced, he was put on board of a vessel, in which he remained twenty five days, at the end of which, he found that he had been conveyed to New Orleans.—At this place he was detained three months, and his papers and vouchers, of which his persecutors had got possession, having

been destroyed by them, he was sold, as a slave, by one King, to a person named Jacob, who employed him in loading a vessel called the *Planter*, the property of Mr. J. Vance, of this town. Brown indignant at the fraud which had been practised upon him, and anxious to regain his liberty, purchased a dollar's worth of biscuit, and contrived to conceal himself in the hold of this vessel, amongst a quantity of cotton stowed there. Immediately after he had thus secreted himself and his scanty sea store, the vessel proceeded on a voyage to Belfast, and arrived in this harbor on the 4th inst. During the passage he subsisted on the biscuit, gliding occasionally out of his retreat in the night time, in order to obtain water, and satisfy other calls of Nature. It is probable that some of the ship's crew knew something of his concealment, and through motives of compassion, aided the poor man in his distress; but this is a mere matter of conjecture. Be this as it may, it appeared probable, from what transpired before Mr. Skinner, that the owner of the vessel had received some notice that Brown had disappeared at New Orleans, and that it was likely he would be found on board the *Planter*, on her arrival in Belfast. This intimation led to his arrest, and of course to the hearing of the case before Mr. Skinner. Some Members of the Society of Friends, (absurdly called Quakers,) actuated by that spirit of philanthropy, which forms a strong trait in the character of this most valuable community, attended on this interesting occasion, on behalf of the oppressed man of color, and Mr. Skinner having with much patience and strict regard to justice, heard Brown's statement in detail, and pronounced him to be a free man, he was liberated at once and left the office in company with those benevolent gentlemen who had so generously espoused his cause. He was also accompanied by an intelligent and spirited Black, an inhabitant of Belfast, who evinced a lively interest in his behalf, and pleaded his cause with an animation and zeal which was honorable to his feelings. From Brown's appearance, he seems to have suffered much from hunger and confinement.

RELIGIOUS SLAVERY!

We were the other day not a little surprised, to see in the *Charleston, (S. C.) Observer*, which is a religious periodical, the following advertisement:

A BOY WANTED.

WANTED to purchase, a BOY from fourteen to eighteen years old, of warranted character. Apply at this office. March 6.

We knew not before that there was a religious periodical that would so far aid the cause of slavery as to advertise for slaves in this manner. We are more and more convinced of the necessity of our proposed *Christian Soldier*, which is not only intended to combat theological errors, but to investigate some practices which obtain among some professed Christians, one of which is slavery. If buying and selling our fellow men, is doing to them as we would have them do to us, say so.—*Anti-Universalist*.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The brig Claudio, which arrived at Sag Harbor on the 30th ult. in thirty-five days from the Island Ascension, reports that she left his Britannic Majesty's frigate Sybille, Commodore Collier, at that Island.—The officers of this ship stated that they had re-captured 12,000 slaves since they had been on the African station.—*Phil. Daily Chron.*

We understand that John Proffit, a colored man, died in Pawtucket yesterday morning—His death was caused by blows inflicted on him the night previous. Several other inoffensive colored people were severely beaten and bruised at the same time, and barely escaped with their lives.

Prov. Jour.

SELECTIONS.

THE CONSUMERS OF WEST INDIA SUGAR
THE SUPPORTERS OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

(Concluded.)

In the face of such evidence as this, supported as it is by the establishment of the general principle, that the discontinuance of the use of slave grown produce, so far from being injurious to the interests of the slaves, would materially promote them; it is obvious to the last degree absurd, to maintain that the consumption of West India Sugar would benefit the slaves; and it especially becomes every consumer of that article, seriously to reflect on the preceding undeniable and appalling statements. Who can behold unmoved such wholesale butchery of his fellow-creatures? And yet of what avail is the expression of commiseration on their behalf, (nay is it not sheer mockery?) while at the same time we advance our money to the planter, and pay him the price of their destruction? If we promote the cause, we are most assuredly responsible for the effects resulting from that cause. If David, when suffering with thirst, refused water, (esteeming it "*the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives*"*) when the risk only of life was incurred to obtain it, are we not called upon to refuse an article of mere luxury, when it is obtained at an absolute and lavish waste of the blood of our fellow men? Undoubtedly, if a due regard were had to their lives and happiness, it would induce us readily to do so. The sacrifice of a total abstinence from sugar is not, however, required at our hands, but merely that of substituting su-

gar obtained from Bengal,† which may be had at the trifling advance in price of about one penny or two pence per pound. This sugar is raised exclusively by *free men*, to whom an increased degree of employment in this, or any other branch of industry, would be of the greatest benefit. The population of India being very dense, and so much exceeding the means of employment, it is useless to say much in support of this assertion: and the following testimony of W. Fitzmaurice, who had been for sixteen years a sugar planter in Jamaica, and was afterwards a cultivator of sugar in the East, will be fully satisfactory and conclusive: "From the luxuriance and fertility of this country, (Bengal) I think it is amply competent to the supply of all Europe with sugar; and inasmuch as the cultivation of the sugar cane destroys annually, in the West, thousands of men, women and children, it would save the lives of thousands in the East, by giving them employ and sustenance." Frequent attempts having been made to controvert the position, that Bengal Sugar is raised by the labor of free men, it becomes necessary briefly to notice this subject, and the following testimonies from living witnesses of the highest respectability, will probably be sufficient to establish the accuracy of the position. In the course of the discussion on West India Slavery, which took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1826, it was remarked by Joseph Hume, on the subject of Slavery in the East Indies, that "he had been in the East Indies, and speaking of what he knew of society there, particularly in Bengal, (from whence all our Sugar is derived,) he could undertake to say, there were no Agricultural Slaves there." This statement was immediately confirmed by Sir Edward Hyde East, formerly Chief Justice of Bengal. Further evidence to the same effect is plentifully to be found in the works of Dr. Francis Buchanan and Sir John Malcolm. In their various reports respecting the culture of sugar, the wages of hired laborers are regularly stated:—not a syllable appears as to the expense of keeping slaves.

The question then plainly resolves it-

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* 2 Sam. xxiii. 17.

self into this. Two sorts of sugar are placed before us, the one raised by *Freemen*, the other by *Slaves*; by consuming the former, we afford employment and the means of subsistence to our fellow subjects the natives of Bengal, and "*save the lives of thousands*;" by consuming the latter, we support a system "*which annually destroys its thousands*,"* a system founded in injustice, violence, and oppression; and surely he who thus directly contributes to support that system, cannot hold himself guiltless of its evils and its crimes.

Were a subscription set on foot for the *avowed object of supporting slavery, and of compensating the slave owners for the loss of life occasioned by the culture of sugar*, with what feelings of indignation and disgust would every one who abhors slavery, and pities the slaves, receive an application to contribute his money? Who is there that would thus *directly uphold* what he condemns as *cruel and unjust*. Who, that in *direct terms* would make the avowal, that he considered two pence per pound, on the price of the sugar he consumes, to be a sufficient motive for contributing to the destruction of the lives of his fellow men, instead of assisting to support them? And yet is it not an undeniable fact, that *every consumer of West India Sugar contributes to a fund for supporting Slavery with all its abominations*? Let not then those who desire the abolition of Slavery, and the mitigation of the toils and sufferings of its victims, suffer themselves any longer to be bribed by the trifling difference between the price

* *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them*" is a command universal in its application. With especial reference to the sufferings thus entailed on our fellow men, the writer would direct the reader's attention to it, and also to the following remarks taken from a recent address on this subject:—

"Let us remember that these poor oppressed and degraded beings are *really our brethren, our fellow men*; and that in our conduct towards them we have no choice; we are bound to do them, what we should wish them to do to us if their circumstances and ours were changed. Should we then, in their circumstances, wish that our more favoured fellow creatures should go on year after year, and generation after generation, consuming the fruits of *our* unrequited labor, and riveting our chains by paying in the price of the luxuries produced by us, for any pecuniary loss, which the destruction of our lives and our happiness, and the degradation to our morals, might occasion to our oppressors? Should we not wish that all around us should do all they could for our relief: and at least bear their testimony against the injustice to which we were subjected?"

of East and West India Sugar, to swerve from what is so obviously their duty, "*let no views of interest prevent practice from coinciding with their theory*," and let them practically adopt the sentiment, that it would even "*be better to eat no sugar, — nay better even to eat aloes or coloquintida, than be accessory to robbing 800,000 human beings of those eternal rights, of which no law upon earth can justly deprive them.*"

The following Extracts from a pamphlet, published in the year 1791, show the views entertained by some of the early abolitionists, and may very suitably be added to what has been here advanced:—

"Let us not think that the crime rests alone with those who conduct the traffic, or the legislature by which it is protected. If we purchase the commodity, we participate in the crime. *The Slave-dealer, the Slave-holder, and the Slave-driver, are virtually the agents of the Consumer*, and may be considered as hired by him, to procure the commodity; for by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process; and every distinction is done away by the moral maxim, that whatever we do by another, we do ourselves. Let us further recollect, that though numbers partaking of a crime may diminish the shame, they cannot diminish its turpitude.

"The case fully lies before us; and we have to make our choice, either to join ourselves with these manufacturers of human woe, or to renounce the horrid association. If we adopt the former, let us at least have the candour to avow our conduct in its real deformity. Let us no longer affect to deplore the calamities attendant on the Slave Trade, of which we are the primary cause: nor let us pretend to execrate the conduct of the Slave-dealer, the Slave-holder, or the Slave-driver; but apologize for them as our partners in iniquity, and be assured, that if we *now* take *our* share in the transaction, we should, were we placed in a similar situation with them, with as little compunction take *theirs*; unless we can suppose the order of nature would be so far inverted, as that we should become virtuous, in proportion as the temptation to vice increased; nor should we then, any more than now, be destitute of subterfuges to destroy the feelings of our minds, and the convictions of our consciences.—

"Address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland to abstain from the use of West India Sugar &c."

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The brig Claudio, which arrived at Sag Harbor on the 30th ult. in thirty-five days from the Island Ascension, reports that she left his Britannic Majesty's frigate Sybille, Commodore Collier, at that Island.—The officers of this ship stated that they had re-captured 12,000 slaves since they had been on the African station.—*Phil. Daily Chron.*

We understand that John Profit, a colored man, died in Pawtucket yesterday morning—His death was caused by blows inflicted on him the night previous. Several other inoffensive colored people were severely beaten and bruised at the same time, and barely escaped with their lives.

Prov. Jour.

SELECTIONS.

THE CONSUMERS OF WEST INDIA SUGAR THE SUPPORTERS OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

(Concluded.)

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of Merchants* that decided the case under consideration, is not known.

But it is not my intention to mention all the shifts to which these gentry have resorted. Garrison was exceedingly remiss in neglecting to attend to the suit himself; † and his attorney complains that he did not receive the necessary documents, &c. &c. to make a proper defence. Be this as it may, it is much to be regretted that the people of Maryland must suffer the imputation of supporting the abominable system of slave-trading (as the decision of the Jury, in the case before us, would seem to warrant) in the estimation of people at a distance. I do not believe that the great mass of them deserve this imputation. As I said before, the whole proceedings of the last trial were *ex parte*. The Jury, with all their mercantile prejudices about

* I believe that much the largest portion of the Jury were merchants. I do not assert that the Court and plaintiff's counsel (who had the management of the business mostly to themselves) selected merchants only, to suit their own interests or prejudices.

One of these gentry, I learn, was exceedingly *wroth* when he discovered that the names of himself and colleagues had been published in the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. He threatened another prosecution of the editor! He has not yet put his threat into execution; but if he is disposed to *run his head against a fount of types*, he is welcome to do it. They shall be arranged in the best possible order for it! Types are potent implements of modern political and moral warfare. Castles fall before them—canons are silenced—swords and bayonets are crumbled, or turned against the holders, if in the hands of intolerant men. Let tyrants and ignorant masses beware how they bring any thing else in contact with them! Even Courts, Lawyers, and Juries are sometimes fallible and vulnerable! "Give me but the liberty of the press," says Sheridan, "and I will give to the minister a venal house of peers—I will give to him a corrupt and servile house of commons—I will give him a full swing of the patronage of his office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission, and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed; I will attack with that mightier engine the mighty fabric he has raised; I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter."

† In a letter to the editor, received just about the time of the trial, Garrison remarked: "I am willing that the Court should have all the sport to itself. I give Mr. Todd every advantage." This was wrong. Though he walked forth in conscious innocence, and thought himself secure, he should know that any cause, however just, depends for its success upon vigilance and activity.

them, were called upon to decide a case when the story on but *one side* was told them, and when every nerve was strained to give it a coloring that would influence their judgment. I am not about to assume the character of apologist for them. Before their God, their consciences, and their countrymen of the present and succeeding generations, they must stand approved or condemned. It is a serious matter; and the subject will hence assume a degree of importance that few attach to it in the present day. It is impossible, that with the present advancement of light and knowledge, both in the old and new worlds, such restrictions and shackles can long be imposed on the press, or on the minds of men, as this decision is calculated to enforce. And more particularly, I am certain that the spread of general philanthropy and republican principles must prevail over individual despotism, as they have done over the priestcraft of Rome, and the monarchy of Europe. *Nothing under heaven can prevent it, if its advocates do their duty—if they remain firm and persevering.*

A general review of the proceedings in the case under consideration, is not designed at present. This will probably be attended to by Garrison himself. Further remark is, therefore, withheld at this time.

The editor of the "*American Statesman*," alluding to the circumstance of establishing this work at the seat of government, and the proposition for discussing the question of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, remarks:

"The editor is a warm hearted philanthropist—to his philanthropy let him add philosophy, and to these *patience*, and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will achieve much.—We can assure the editor, in advance, that "intelligent and influential men from every part of the Union," view the agitation of this question with extreme jealousy and no slight alarm; and that if it be made the *prominent topic* of discussion, it must be done with the caution and circumspection, with which the lighted match is applied to a train of gun-powder, * * * or all his airy dreams may be blown 'sky high.'"

Now, I can assure the gentleman that, as I have labored *ten years*, *PATIENTLY*, in this cause, I have *necessarily* endeavored to muster up a little "philosophy" to help me along. And, for my life, I cannot discover why this question should be viewed with such "extreme jealousy" and "alarm," as he (no doubt truly) intimates. What! shall "*American Statesmen*" fear to look this evil in the face, while it is yet in its infancy? How, then, shall they dare to encounter it, when it assumes the giant-form, and

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 8. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

NOVEMBER, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 260, VOL. XI.]

This number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, appears considerably sooner in the month than several that have preceded it. The Editor hopes to be able, hereafter, to lay it before his patrons in the early part of each month, as at first designed.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

In the last number of this work, I stated that the question of the gradual and total abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, would be a "prominent topic for discussion" in its pages. But I shall not commence it, just yet, in due form. Still, I wish the public mind directed to the subject. It is vastly important—not only to individuals, but also to the nation.

The following extract from the "Weekly Visitor," published in Chester, Pa. shows that the subject is under consideration, even where we have as yet heard little said about it. It is very doubtful whether much will be done relative to this matter during the ensuing Session of Congress. There will now be a general breaking up of old political associations, and the forming of new combinations, preparatory to the Presidential struggle of 1832. And whether the friends of our cause will have confidence enough in their strength to make any thing like a successful effort, is quite problematical. A beginning, however, has been already made; and it must be followed up, to its consummation. Nothing will be more easy to accomplish than the abolition of slavery in this District, if the sovereign authority wills it. No evil consequences could possibly result from it; and the squeamish manner in which many speak of it, is ridiculous, in the extreme.

From the *Weekly Visitor*.

It is very probable, nay, almost certain, that the attempt will be renewed, this next Session of Congress, to exterminate Slavery from the District of Columbia. This "ten miles square," is under the exclusive legislative control of Congress; and although representatives from free states are sent yearly to this district, the horrors of the slave system are still in full force there! What an anomaly that the representatives of free states should indirectly uphold slavery, and countenance the barbarities consequent upon the system! Yet so it is, the unfortunate victims of a "black code" in the District, owe their oppressions, as far as suffering

is concerned, to the supineness of states, where the inspiring words "all men are created equal," is something real.

In some respects, slavery is attended with a degree of oppression in the District, which is chargeable against Louisiana and Mississippi in an inferior degree. The transportation of slaves is from the older states to the new; consequently the District is continually the scene of the most heart-rending separation of families. Children are torn from their parents, and husbands and wives parted assunder, to fill the pockets of their relentless owners, or to glut the avarice of the speculator in human flesh. Groups of these unfortunate victims, torn from all they hold dear on earth, are frequently seen, driven through the streets, manacled, before the lash, in order to be shipped off for a Southern port.

THE "LIBEL" PERSECUTION.

I will not class the "plaintiff" and his interested minions (in the late case of "Libel," against the editors of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*) with the open advocates of slavery. They possess not the spirit to "advocate" any measure which they think will be unpopular, whether it be morally in their favor, or not. The whole character of such persons is selfish—all they want is money. They are the most *Spaniel-hearted* creatures among free men!

It should be publicly known that Todd made a cringing application to Garrison, through a mutual friend, very soon after the termination of the State prosecution, for a compromise. He offered to withdraw the civil suit, in case Garrison would admit his insinuation to be incorrect, respecting his having been generally more successful than other merchants, by his connexion with the internal slave trade. Garrison refused to make any such admission. The Court then put off the second trial, until he got weary of waiting, and left the State of Maryland. When the trial came on, Todd's attorney (Merideth) had the unblushing impudence to charge him with absconding! This was too gross an assertion for honorable minded men. The mass of Lawyers, however, are viewed, in general, as mere "Swiss" mercenaries, who will "fight" any where for pay—and for that only. Of course, their statements, in such a case, seldom obtain credit beyond the purlieus of the Jury Box. How much influence this treatment of the plaintiff's attorney had upon the select Jury

transacted. Committees were appointed to prepare sundry addresses to the public, to the various branches, &c. &c.

The Officers of the convention, at present, are:—

Wm. R. Jones, *President*.
Henry Mankin, *Rec. Secretary*.
Benjamin Lundy, *Corresponding Sec.*
John Needles, *Treasurer*.

PATRIOTISM IN NORTH CAROLINA.

The annexed extract is the conclusion of an Oration, delivered before the Manumission Society of North Carolina, in September, 1829, by Amos Weaver, of Guilford County.

It will rejoice the friends of our cause to learn, that this patriotic gentleman was very recently elected to the Legislature of that State, by a handsome majority. He was violently opposed by the advocates of slavery; but their opponents triumphed completely. Well done, North Carolina!

"But permit me to remark, in conclusion, that should this and a few other evils in our electioneering policy be suppressed; the evils and impolicy attending a system of absolute slavery fairly and generally developed; and the cause of virtue and knowledge maintained among our citizens, we shall find ourselves served by men of a very different turn from many of those who have served us heretofore in the councils of our country. We shall find men in our Legislatures to whom the appeals of humanity and justice may be made with effect. We shall not then, as heretofore, have our humble petitions ordered to lie on the table, or perhaps hear the hoarse muttering voice of oppression and cruelty, declaring that these things 'need no Legislative interference.' What! Are thousands of our fellow creatures, within our State, (creatures possessing the nature that we possess, united to the great brotherhood of mankind, all having descended from the same original stock,) destitute of every real protection afforded them by Law either in their persons or property, many of whom are under the control of cruel and relentless masters, from whom they receive much inhuman abuse, being deprived of happiness here, and almost entirely deprived of the means of obtaining happiness hereafter; and we yet told that this needs no legislative interference? Are thousands of our fellow creatures living in some way among us, without any Law to guard their marriage rights, or without the law's having any knowledge of marriage among them, (for such is the fact with regard to the whole slave population among us,) and yet this need no Legislative interference? A system of slavery existing which *must* incur the censure of divine justice, it being at variance

with every native sentiment of justice and humanity in the human breast, and yet we are *gravely* told that all this needs no Legislative interference! Monstrous indeed is the doctrine! But on this subject we will appeal to the virtue and good sense of our Countrymen. These evils must be redressed, so as to render a degree of justice at last, to all within our Government, or we cannot rationally conclude that our liberties can be rendered perpetual. And it is in this work that we have engaged, and in this our toil is sweetened by the conscious rectitude of our motives, and our honest and cheerful hope that we may ever be the benefactors of mankind. Therefore, let us work while it is day. It is a glorious privilege which we enjoy, as free men, to engage in this work. In this, our Constitution will protect us.—And under the broad protection afforded by the laws of our Country, we may fully discuss this subject; freely advocate what we may deem objects of public utility; freely censure what we may judge improper, or unprincipled, in the public conduct of the ruling authorities; and as freely give our votes, when we must approach the ballot-box, against such as act improperly. Say then by all your intercourse with society that you are devotedly attached to the cause of freedom, and the highest interests of your country. Urge your cause with mildness, but with a determined and unyielding perseverance; and success will certainly crown your labors. And although you may not all live to realize the ultimate design of our undertaking, yet the zeal which we have shown, and are yet showing in the cause of humanity, shall survive, and glow in our successors; on them shall our mantles drop; and the good which has been so generally undertaken, shall be dispensed and enjoyed when the Sun shall rise to bless generations yet unborn."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

The following article will be interesting to those who feel disposed to advocate our cause. The writer takes a serious and *alarming* view of the tyrannical crusade against the liberty of the press, experienced even in this boasted free country.

From the American Daily Advertiser.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

At this time, when our whole nation is rejoicing over the triumph obtained on the other side of the water, in favour of the liberty of the press, will it be believed, that, at this very moment, attempts are making in Baltimore, to punish by a heavy fine, a citizen of the United States, for some remarks made by him whilst editor of a paper devoted to humanity and freedom? He related some facts.

touching a legalized traffic in *human flesh and blood*; and because he spoke of the transaction in a manner becoming a *free-man*, an American, a republican in *principle*, and not merely so in name, *he was imprisoned*: and old Shylock, not satisfied, is still persecuting him "for the pound of flesh."

If these kinds of prosecutions are to be tolerated, in this enlightened age and in this "land of liberty," then farewell to all our rights—civil, religious, and political. Americans! look to it! Something ought to be done to nip this spirit of persecution in the bud, or else in addition to the groans, chains and scourges of the Africans, we may have fire and faggots for such of us as dare to raise our voices against cruelty and oppression of any kind.

AMERICANUS.

THE GENIUS OF TEMPERANCE.

This excellent work is now published in New York. It is edited by William Goodell and Phineas Crandall, and ably supports the cause in which it is engaged. Our friend Goodell holds a powerful pen. Would that he could find more leisure to wield it against the monster, *slavery*.

THE "RIGHTS OF ALL."

This valuable periodical, edited by the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, a colored gentleman of Belleville, New Jersey, has not reached us for several months. It is to be feared that the same *withering* apathy that blights every other publication that is devoted to the improvement of the colored race, has extended its scorching influence to the work above mentioned. Shame! shame! to the "*philanthropists*" of the United States.—When will they reflect, that persons who labor in *this* cause, stand as much in need and are as deserving of support, as those who engage in any other? They might just as well turn away from the victim on whom the robber's hand is laid, as refuse to assist those who essay to effect his rescue.

✂ The engravings, accompanying a few copies of this number, were intended to be forwarded last month, but were omitted through inadvertence. For an explanation of them, see the "Black List," for September.

✂ A biographical notice of Anthony Benezet may be expected in next number.

CORRESPONDENCE.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

FRIEND B. LUNDY:—The following is an extract of a letter from —, to —, in reply to a communication from the latter, calling in question the propriety of a sentiment advanced by the former, that had the society of friends kept faithful to their original concerns against African slavery and oppression, there would have been by this time, an article of Discipline against the use of the produce of slavery. If agreeable, please insert it in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. A. B.

Fifth Mo. 4th, 1824.

BELoved FRIEND:—To the first half of thy letter I can cordially subscribe, knowing by some degree of humbling experience that *human reason* unenlightened and undirected by that which is indeed *light*, is wholly insufficient either to guide our own steps right or enable us to point out the path of peace to others; yet while wandering far and wide in error, human acts are not all indifferently alike, since those that are immoral and dishonest in themselves, tend powerfully to obscure and prevent the arising of that which is indeed the true light of men—hence the necessity of discipline made in the light of truth, though not wanted for its faithful followers; these have no guide but *one*, because they know that none but *one* could possibly have raised them out of the pit into which they had fallen. But while the gradual work of the new creation is effected "day after day," various causes may have prevented him who has seen and rejoiced in many of those days from beholding with clearness what is obvious to another in his earliest infancy. How can we otherwise account for the fact, that our worthy ancients, bright and shining instruments, should so long have bought, sold, and kept in bondage, their fellow creatures. And when the stripling Woolman proposed shackling them with "yokes of bondage," how did their feelings revolt from his implied charge of injustice against them, had they not learned obedience from the things that they had suffered in the school of Christ? Being melted, refined, and set free from the law of sin and death. There we may see with admiration and gratitude the infinite compassion and tender dealing of Him with whom we have to do; in thus leading and blessing (as far as they were prepared to receive) those who were entangled in

things manifestly wrong and unjust. When we love one another we feel that we can use great freedom. Allow me then to say that thy arguments appeared to me just such as the beforementioned friend urged against John Woolman, together with others more powerful in their favor, for it is doubtful whether *our* conduct is not in some respects more inexcusable than *theirs*—their slaves they knew were then tenderly treated, and if liberated were often liable to be scourged and sold to worse masters; they were also in the way of receiving religious and civil instruction; whereas, the thousands who are this moment toiling for us, obtain no assistance from us on those accounts. I note thy remarks: "Those who walk by faith are not in the nature of things bound by any human law—for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath set them free from the penalty of every other law. This is as clear to my mind as it is that no inferior law can possibly judge the law of God, or bind the soul that has purchased its freedom by fulfilling the perfect law of liberty." However great these truths, can the perfect law of liberty sanction clearly, known and acknowledged oppression of our fellow creatures? Oh, my friend! if thy heart has deeply felt for these people (and I know it has) examine once more what it is that so shackles thee—so shackles thousands from pleading their cause. Poor inconsistent creatures that we are! behold us reprobating a system in words, yet supporting it in acts! proclaiming its injustice in the authority of truth (when truth can rise into dominion) and then hanging our heads in a deeply weakening sense of our own participation in its support! Shall we never shake our hands from holding of bribes? How powerful is custom in closing our ears and eyes against perceiving what we do not wish to perceive, and what we should otherwise at once behold in its true colors. Indeed it is scarcely possible to believe that there can be one friend of common understanding who does not know that it is wrong that slaves should toil for him, or who does not know that they are so toiling. But here the adversary steps in, and although he cannot persuade us we are doing right, he reasons and reasons almost continually to stifle our convictions, suppressed and smothered as they have long been by habit: pointing out the difficulties attending a different line of conduct, and by a *strange yet most successful piece of so-*

phistry, persuading us that it would even be wrong for us to cease to oppress our fellow creatures, until loudly called upon by convictions that he had incessantly aided us to crush. He does not tell us to go to the theatre and pay our money for the support of actors, while we blame the whole establishment as a school of vice. He does not tell us to purchase articles captured in war, and yet proclaim that war is anti-christian. But he tells us to advance our money to induce another to do an act that we unequivocally condemn, and should disown our own members for so doing. He says that to withdraw our support would be a species of coercion, and would not be the right way to remove the evil; and when the understandings of any are opened in the light of truth, to see and expose his snares and delusions, we hear him *reasoning* most loudly against the use of *reason*. It is not in my power to express the sorrowful sense I have of the loss the society and many of its ornaments have sustained for want of the latter bringing their conduct in this respect to the true touchstone; were they to do this, their example would powerfully aid, instead of retarding the progress of reformation. I feel no hesitation in repeating my full conviction, that nothing but our own unfaithfulness has prevented discipline being made to wipe away this great inconsistency between our *profession and practice*; nevertheless, it may not be right to have that discipline made until we become more faithful, lest we be like another religious body* who sometime since made discipline to prevent their members from keeping slaves, and through weakness had to rescind it. The path of simple obedience to what we know to be right, could lead through all our difficulties. May we patiently travel it, and if we possess any powers of reasoning on subjects abstruse or plain, yield these and every other gift to Him who alone can make them conduce to his own glory—to our good and to the good of our fellow creatures.

Farewell—whenever it is convenient, I should be glad to hear from thee: use as great freedom as I have done, and with one hint more I shall close my letter. *The armor with which thou art sometimes clothed, is too excellent to be used in any warfare that is not perfectly just.*

Thy assured Friend— *****

* The Methodists to the Southward.

Extract of a letter from Jacob W. Prout, of Menrovia, Africa, to the editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, dated Sept. 22, 1830.

"I am happy to state that Capt. W. F. Martin, of the schr. Zembuca, of Baltimore, burthen about one hundred tons, recently ascended the St. Pauls River, as far up as the extremity of Bushrod Island, which is between the St. P. and the Stockton. It is said by the natives that they have not seen a vessel of this size, in that river, before. I think the discovery will be of considerable benefit to our colony; and Capt. M. deserves applause for the same. I was an eye witness to the performanee, as I was on board.

"I have sent for my good friend ———, a few limes, of which, if they arrive safe, I shall be enabled to ship any quantity to you. Our Trees hang as full here, as the Apple Trees do in America, and they are more abundant"

From the Greensborough Patriot.

AN ADDRESS

Delivered at a meeting of the Jefferson Branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, on the 1st of May, 1830, by Thomas Doan.

FELLOW HELPERS IN PLEADING THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY:—In compliance with your request, I now solicit your attention to what I have thrown together in your requested essay, upon the almost worn-out subject of African slavery. Indeed! were it not for the too general apathy which prevails over a large number of the professed advocates for African freedom, I should despair of bringing forward a single idea that was new, or of casting the least glimmer of undiscovered light upon the subject—so nearly has it been exhausted by the numerous speakers and writers that have from time to time treated upon it. But on account of the general apathy, of which I have been speaking, I have made the venture, not knowing but old subjects, long forgotten, might, when revived, be to such characters entirely new and interesting. In addressing you at this time, I must beg of such of you, if such there be, that are almost "twice dead and plucked up by the roots," to awake from your sleep of stupefaction, and arise from your graves of insensibility, and exercise a little more energy in attending your meetings for promoting the object of the institution of which you are members—exert yourselves in procuring new signers

to your petitions; patronize according to your ability, works of utility in diffusing the principles of freedom; and, in a word, do for your suffering colored brethren, that which you would wish them to do for you, upon a change of circumstances.

To such of you, fellow helpers, as are yet alive, I can only say, endeavor to become still more lively; and I would by all means further advise you, not to be disheartened at the imaginary gloomy prospects which seem to hover around you: for the cause which you have espoused is the cause of Heaven, and the combined powers of earth and hell cannot prevail against it.

Let me now call your attention back to the first formation of your humane institution, and ask you what was then the appearance, and the prospect? A few "earthen pitchers and their lamps," assaying to contend with almost a whole nation of inveterate slaveholders! The prospect, to mortal eyes, was gloomy indeed; and the appearance not less contemptible to the surrounding hosts of slaveholders, than the stripling David was to the mail-coated Goliath of Gath.

But let us mark the revolving rounds of only *fourteen years*, and test the changes which have taken place within that period. The principle which you then advocated, might be compared to the "little cloud of the size of a man's hand;" or perhaps, more fitly, to the "little leaven, hid in the meal;" but what now is its appearance? Why, that same "little leaven"—that same principle of *freedom* which you contended for, has extended its influence, not only over this large continent, but over Spanish America also, and has even found its way into the British Parliament; nor do I believe that its salutary effects will cease, till the "whole lump is leavened," and the *curse of slavery* eradicated from the civilized world.—Thousands, fellow helpers, who were the avowed enemies of African emancipation fourteen short years ago, have been convinced, and are now among the warmest advocates for freedom. Your numbers, as friends to the rights of man, have increased beyond your most sanguine anticipations. In the infancy of your institution, your enemies viewed you with contempt—they neither loved nor feared either you or your efforts; but many, who then considered you as almost beneath their notice, to them you now have a formidable appearance, and they dread the effects of your exertions and influ-

ence. Manumissionists at this stage of existence, appear terrible as an "army with banners" to the votaries of oppression; and though they endeavor to intimidate you, and to weaken your hands by honoring you with the genteel appellations of *fools, fanatics, enthusiasts*, or whatever other evil epithets they may think proper to confer upon you, yet they fear your powers, and, as if in despair of holding long ~~their~~ *sable human prey* with tiger grasp, growl defiance to every effort to wrest it from them. The spirit of philanthropy is progressing with such rapidity, that the slave proprietors are alarmed at its march, and even daringly threaten a dissolution of the Union, whenever the slave question is ever so slightly agitated. The nabobs of the slave states are exceedingly jealous of their *rights*—their *privileges*—their *property*; and are afraid that Congress, in conjunction with the free States, and the abolitionists in the several States, may, some day or other, put their heads together, and bring about a universal emancipation of all the slaves in the nation; and hence the general hue and cry, which we so often hear sounded by our little and big politicians about *State Rights*—which is nothing more nor less than a new fashioned argument in support of the slave system.—From the general outcry which is raised by our State-Right politicians about State Rights, no other conclusion can be fairly drawn, I apprehend, then that they wish to divest the national government of all its powers or dissolve it altogether, so that every State may act independent of the rest, or of any higher council than its own, either to direct or protect it; and all this and more, from a fear of losing their slaves. But touch upon slavery, and you touch the apple of their eye—and no wonder—having so long lived in idleness and upon the gain of oppression, they are too lazy to work, too proud to beg, and they well know what their next alternative would be. But a word to you, fellow manumissionists: What think you of the consistency of men, professing to be the friends of African freedom, and at the same time lending a heavy hand in promoting one, or more, of these *state-right, slavery-protecting politicians*, to a seat in the national legislature? It might be well enough to take this matter into serious consideration.

One other case, and I have done. This is the most delicate part of my general

subject, and I would willingly have left it unnoticed, did I not believe that duty urged to the contrary. Shall I thus publicly venture to tell my fears, and not be in danger of being called an infidel? To avoid this, let me first state without hypocrisy, that I am a believer in the Christian Religion, and some sort of an unworthy professor of it. Having thus premised, I proceed: I *fear*, fellow helpers, that a majority, perhaps, of the Christian professing societies in our country, are ~~amongst~~ *amongst* the greatest props, supporters, and upholders of the system of slavery, of any other class of citizens whatever. The most, if not all of them, acknowledge slavery to be wrong, and pronounce it to be both a national sin and a moral evil, and yet keep slave-holders in church communion, and some of them have *slave-holding preachers*, and authorize them to be instructors of others in the mysteries of Christianity! There is something a little mysterious in this:—pronounce a slave-holder to be a moral sinner, and then authorize the same moral sinner to preach the pure gospel of the redeemer! Pronounce the slave-holding lay-member to be a moral sinner, and then unite with him in full Christian fellowship, in performing the most sacred acts of Christian devotion, by communing together at the *eucharist board*, and in the *full fellowship denoting love feast*; or the flesh-purifying operation of *washing feet*! There appears to me to be either a very great inconsistency in these things, or a most intolerable "daubing with untempered mortar."

How do you feel, fellow manumissionists, when you join with slave-holders in any, or all of the above described emblems of Christian fellowship? or when you sit under the "*droppings of the sanctuary*" of a slave-holding preacher? Do you feel no revoltings of mind upon such occasions? Reflect, if you please, and think upon it. I am fully persuaded, that if all the Christian Churches in America would excommunicate every slave-holding member, who should refuse to manumit his or her slaves, and finally exclude all such from becoming members in future, that it would do more in "breaking every yoke, undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free," than any means that ever have been, or can be, used without it.

All of which I submit to your serious consideration.

LADIES' REPORTER.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

IMPORTUNITY.

It appears to be considered no small grievance by some of our gentle sisters, that the subject of slavery should so frequently be forced before their attention by the friends of emancipation. They complain that it is but little short of persecution or slavery in itself, to be so frequently obliged to endure remonstrances on their inactivity, to be so perpetually called upon for their aid and sympathy, or so often reminded of what, they are told, is their duty.

To us, this extreme sensitiveness seems not to belong to consciences so wholly untouched by the subject as they would be willing to appear. Persons are not usually disturbed at the approach of what is totally indifferent to them. We should rather suppose that their irritations proceeded, perhaps truly unconsciously, from a fear that such troublesome interference might dissipate the slumbers, which they have been at some pains to force upon a sense of duties which it might be troublesome to perform. Yet if they were really as indifferent as they would persuade themselves they have a right to be, that would not be a sufficient reason why the voice of remonstrance should be silenced. Were it a subject that concerned only the personal gratification of the pleaders, then indeed their friends might justly complain if they were wearied with importunity. But this is not the case. Opposition to slavery is not a theme to be taken up merely in compliance with a prevailing fashion, or an individual taste or inclination. It is a question which concerns the vital interests of millions of human beings—of thousands—of hundreds of thousands of our own sex; and those of us who feel that the influence of woman must and will be felt in its discussion, have a right to demand that it should be examined patiently. What! are we to behold our fellow creatures suffering and oppressed—must we see as it were tears of blood wrung out, drop by drop, from the crushed hearts of our sisters, and yet stifle the indignant agony of our own bosoms, and fear to lift up our voices in their behalf, because you have grown weary of the harrowing tale of their

anguish? Shall we smother the convictions of conscience, and silence the promptings of humanity, rather than intrude a disagreeable theme upon your ear? And turning to the helpless beings, whose cause our God and our religion commands us to plead as earnestly as if it were our own, shall we tell them, as the dim eye is lifted towards us in passionate supplication, that we are conscious our united efforts would release them from their soul destroying bonds, but that you are wearied of the subject, and we like not to press it upon your attention? Would you not condemn as a heartless wretch, the individual who could act thus by one single sufferer? How much less then may we so betray the cause of thousands! "Strike me," said the Athenian orator, "if you will but hear me!" and shall we desist to press upon your attention a subject of far greater moment than any merely political one that was ever agitated, because you have grown impatient of the often repeated topic? No! we must still again and again present it before you. We must not cease to assail you with our importunity till weariness is changed into interested and active compassion. If your hearts turn sickening away from the thought of so much wretchedness, reflect, then, that no exertions, no sacrifices of yours can be too great, that have for their object the alleviation of the lot of those who are actually groaning under its endurance. Even though you may not be certain of success, it is worth while at least to endeavor to do good; and should your efforts fall short of their desired end, you will be amply rewarded for them in the satisfaction of having done what you could, and in the consciousness that your brothers blood will never lie with a burning weight upon your souls.

THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE.

It is frequently urged as a plea for indifference and inaction with regard to emancipation, that the mind has never been particularly impressed with the subject, and that the conscience has always remained at rest concerning it. But this we do not conceive to be by any means a valid argument, unless we have diligently called upon, and carefully attended to the suggestions of the mental counsellor. Conscience does not always give her advice unasked; we sometimes walk blindly in a wrong path; but, though we may perhaps be held guiltless, so long as we remain unconsciously slumbering, yet if we obstinately turn away from the hand that would awaken us, and refuse to open our eyes that we may discover whether light or darkness is around us, surely we are not less culpable

than if we knowingly persisted in error.

There seems to be prevalent, a strange opinion, that it is incumbent upon none to become advocates for the rights of humanity, in the persons of the enslaved Africans, but those who have received an especial intimation of their duty in that respect; that the productions of slavery, which are undeniably its foundation and support, may be freely partaken of by all but those to whom they have been forbidden in a voice that might not be gainsayed. In other things we listen to the tones of reason, we seek her guidance to the gate of conscience, and ask her interpretation of the hidden responses of the bosom oracle. Shall we not then in like manner expect to be enlightened in this matter, by a patient investigation and search after knowledge? We know that many persons have been called from a life of sin and disobedience, by the terrible voice of God, sounding like a clear trumpet-note to the innermost recesses of their bosoms. But who would therefore be so mad, as to suppose that we may with impunity persist in a course of impiety, until an irresistible summons comes to turn us from our path, as to Saul of Tarsus, at the broad noon-day? So neither have we any reason to believe, that a particular revelation will be vouchsafed to us with regard to our conduct here. If the system is repugnant to the known general laws of religion and morality; if it is contrary to the written commands of God, and those which are whispered, in the heart's silent hour, to the spiritual ear, then we know of a truth it must be wickedness, and it follows as a natural and inevitable consequence that we are called upon to lend our influence to its destruction, and that we cannot innocently in any way be partakers therein. We know that the enslaved Negroes are human beings;—our brethren and our sisters; that they are "sick, and an hungered, and in prison," and shall we dare to assert that our duty does not require us to "minister unto them," till we have received a particular command to do so? There are others who seem to fear to enter lightly and with unconsecrated foot upon a field which presents a work of such magnitude, that God's own hand seems only competent to the completion of the task. And if it were only a labor of religious reformation—one of those mighty overthrows which sometimes take place when the finger of the Almighty is at work secretly in the mysterious depths of the human bosom, then might we indeed justly dread to lay unhallowed hands upon the "Ark of the Covenant." But this is

a plain question of christian duty. The simple performance of a right action—no more involving the danger of an officious interference, than the thousand beneficent deeds for which we uniformly bestow the tribute of our applause on others, or receive the reward of an approving conscience in ourselves. As reasonably might we hesitate to perform the commonest duties of humanity, because our hands were not clear of all evil, as to make our imperfections an excuse for suffering our brethren to remain unaided in their bondage. The rule upon which we are to act, was long since promulgated. It is written upon every page of the christian religion—it is graven upon a broad scroll of light in words that may be read to the farthest extremity of the universe. *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*"

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE FEMALE ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA, FOR PROMOTING THE MANUFACTURE AND USE OF FREE COTTON.

The Committee who have in charge the concerns of the Association, report: that within the last month several pieces of Bed-ticking, and 14 of Canton-flannel have been received from the weavers: and a supply of unbleached shirting muslins is daily expected.

An order from Kennet-Square, requesting an assortment of the different articles on hand, has been attended to.

It would be desirable if our members would as much as practicable encourage the use of such articles as are the productions of *free labour*, in preference to those produced by *slaves*, as we think much depends upon individual faithfulness,—and by disposing speedily of the goods now on hand, it would thereby encourage the manufacturers, and still continue to increase the demand for free cotton—and also to endeavour to bear the little sacrifices, as to the quality of the goods, which is necessary in bringing into operation this noble cause.

9th month, 13, 1830.

Report for Tenth Month.

The committee in virtue of their appointment, have duly attended to the various concerns which have come within their notice during the past month,—and inform the Association, that the increased demand for our goods has rendered

it necessary to bespeak a new supply from the factories—there being yet a considerable quantity of cotton yarn on hand. Therefore, five hundred yards of Bed-ticking and five hundred of sheetings have been ordered.

A considerable quantity of coarse shirtings have been received since last report, but not a sufficiency to meet the applications.

The person who has undertaken the manufacturing of dimity, informs: that owing to the cotton not being of a suitable quality, he is obliged to abandon the making of *furniture dimity*.

An order received from Westchester, Pennsylvania, for a supply of nearly all the varieties of the remaining lots of goods now in the store room, has been attended to, and the articles furnished accordingly.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SLAVERY.

If there is one cup administered to the lips of man, more deeply than all others drugged with bitterness, it is that which to its very dregs is drained by the Negro slave. It is vain to speak of the comforts of his situation;—to contrast his certainty of food and raiment, with the anxious care of the indigent freeman, wearing away his days under heart-sickening discouragements and unremitted toil, to provide for the helpless beings who look to him, and to him only, for the means of subsistence. The highest enjoyment in the first case, the mere exemption from physical want, is one in which the favorite steed and the household dog, fellow servants with the slave, partake of a more generous portion than himself. In the other, though the toils of the free laborer should be severe and more lengthened, though his means of providing for the wants of life were more scanty, yet the high swelling of the free spirit, the consciousness of duty well performed, and the grateful affection which rewards his toil, impart even to his darkest hours, a happiness which would be ill exchanged for all the blessings which slavery ever bestowed upon a child of Africa.

The slave! is it not a heartless mocking of his fate, to couple his name in the same breath with that of happiness! What is to him the refinement of intellectual

pleasure? What may he know, amidst his degradation, of the high acquirements of mind—of the delicate enjoyments of the taste and the imagination? What is hope to him? What is memory—delicious memory! that kind bestower of a two-fold life? that skilful limner, who, if she cannot preserve to us in an enduring existence, the vanishing moments of delight, sketches with a rapid hand their brightest features, and shadows out a picture which we may gaze upon long after the reality has passed away! Her pencil may indeed be wielded for him—she may call back to his view a vivid picturing of former years and former scenes—but what are the images that crowd upon her easel? Friends, loved friends, from whom he is forever parted—gentle eyes and soft cheeks that have rested in fondness upon his bosom, but are now to be beheld never again, terrible scenes of violent separation,—and that dear home under whose shadowing trees lie the ashes of his mother, where he grew from childhood to youth, where he loved and was wedded, and from which in an evil hour he was torn forever. She has none for him of the blessed recollections, brighter it may be, but not less dear than the more striking circumstances of life,—of happy hours passed in the society of well loved friends, with whom, though you may perhaps, and not unreluctantly, have parted, your intercourse may at some future day be yet renewed,—the moonlight walks, when kind voices sounded even sweeter and softer than their wont, of which all after moons are the remembrancer,—the volume, read aloud under the shadow of the hill-vine, whose pages contain far more to your eye, than only the printed characters,—some added mental acquirement, not so valued for its own sake, as for the thought of the friendly circle where it was gathered up,—moments of glad mirth, the deeper passages of more serious and the thousand remembered kindnesses of years,—most delicious are all these to the heart that can turn back and gaze upon them through no darker medium than a few affectionate tears. But to the slave—he whose partings are forever, and his past hung over with a blood-red cloud of desolation, what can such memoirs bring but added misery—what but to forget can be a blessedness? The few bright spots that may rise to blossom around him in the desert of his life, are like the vine surrounded cottage of the peasant, on the side of

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

uncertain Ætna, the fruits that he has toiled to nourish may be blasted before he can gather them, and all that at the morning hour was brightness to his eye, at the eventide lie ruined in the ashes of desolation.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

AFRICA.

"Woman's heart,
Remembers Africa."

Forget her not! Forget her not!
Till ye've wrought a change in her dreary lot.
When ye are set at the social board,
When your souls are in converse poured,
When ye are gathered around the hearth,
Mingling your voices in friendly mirth,
When ye are met in the crowded hall,
When the merry feet of the dancers fall —
Never may Africa be forgot,
Till change hath come o'er her dreary lot!
Never, oh, never!

Forget her not! Forget her not!
Her wrongs are your country's foulest blot!
When ye list your children's shouts of play,
When ye soothe their transient griefs away,
When ye bend above the couch of pain,
Or watch where the dying head is lain,
But most of all, when you kneel in prayer,
To seek from your Father his daily care.
Never should Africa be forgot,
Till your land is cleansed from its foulest blot.
Never, oh, never!

SIBYL.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MEN SELLING.

Slavery! what a name for christian lips!
what a fraternal greeting from the lips of
freemen. I rose up as if from a dream.
I had looked upon the advertisement till
my eyes grew dim and my senses bewildered.
I knew it was not a strange
thing—I had seen such, although not frequently,
before; but I had not perhaps perfectly caught
their import, for I repeated the words now again
and again, without a full comprehension of their
meaning. They spoke of a sale of human beings
with all the heartless and accustomed terms
of trade; men women and children were to be
disposed of at auction to the highest bidder.
How could it be! In what had these miserable
beings forfeited the common rights of humanity?
Had the Almighty resumed his benefaction, and
given them to be a spoil for those whom he
had once made their brethren? Were they
no longer possessed of the high capacities
of a dying nature—had their destiny
changed, and a new portion assigned
that they were not in this life
of eternity of future bliss or misery
might have seemed to be

their lot, from the fate that awaited them.
They were to be sold and purchased as
chattels—mere implements of labor; they
were to drudge out a life of toil like the
laborious ox, with whom they were clas-
sed in fellowship; their days were to wear
away without a consciousness of their ca-
pabilities of mind, without knowledge,
without thought, without religion. And
yet these beings were men! men upon
whom a merciful Creator had bestowed
the boon of an immortal nature; whose
souls had been kindled from the same
spark as that which gave animation to the
haughty forms of their oppressors. They
were human beings, and they who bought
and they who sold them, were in form
and fashion like unto themselves. Nay,
they called upon one God as their mu-
tual Father,—upon one Saviour for re-
demption and everlasting life. Was it
strange that I should gaze with a sick in-
credulity upon the paper which gave evi-
dence of so much depravity—of such
broad and heartless contempt of the di-
vine law, and of the commonest dictates
of humanity.

ELA.

The following poem is from the *London Keep-
sake*, for 1830, and was written by Mr. Pringle,
the editor of that work. In a brief introduction
the author says that "the chief incidents of the
tale were related to him by an African boy, whom
he first met with near the borders of the great
Karoo, or Arid Desert. The expression of the or-
phan stranger, when asked about his kindred, was
literally—"I am all alone in the world!" A few
slight circumstances, characteristic of the country,
are almost all that has been added to poor Ma-
rossi's affecting narrative. The system of outrage
and oppression of which this gives a specimen, has
been ably developed by Dr. Philip, in his '*Re-
searches in Africa*.'" Here let us ask: How ma-
ny equally distressing "tales of woe"—of ruthless
wrong and outrage—might be related by thousands
of young negroes in Louisiana, Mississippi, Ala-
bama, &c. who have been **STOLEN** from their
connexions in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky.

Ed. G. U. Emancipation.

THE BECHUANA BOY.

A story of the Cape Settlement.

I sat at noon-tide in my tent,
And looked across the desert, dun,
That 'neath the cloudless firmament
Lay gleaming in the sun;—
When, from the bosom of the waste,
A swarthy stripling came in haste,
With foot unshod and naked limb,
And a tame springbok following him.

He came with open aspect bland,
And modestly before me stood,
Caressing with a kindly hand
That fawn of gentle brood;
Then meekly gazing in my face,
Said, in the language of his race,
(With smiling look, yet pensive tone)—
"Stranger!—I'm in the world alone!"

"Poor boy," I said, "thy kindred's home,
Beyond far Stormberg's ridges blue,
Why wast thou left, so young, to roam
This desolate Karroo?"
The smile forsook him while he spoke—
And when again he silence broke,
It was with many a stifled sigh
He told his strange sad history:—

"I have no kindred!" said the boy,
"The Bergenaars—by night they came,
And raised their murder-shout of joy,
While o'er our huts the flame
Rushed like a torrent; and their yell
Pealed louder as our warriors fell
In helpless heaps beneath their shot—
One living man they left us not!"

"The slaughter o'er, they gave the slain
To feast the foul-beaked birds of prey;
And with our herds across the plain
They hurried us away—
The widowed mothers and their brood;
Oft, in despair, for drink and food
We vainly cried—they heeded not,
But with sharp lash the captives smote.

"Three days we tracked that dreary wild,
Where thirst and anguish pressed us sore;
And many a mother and her child
Lay down to die no more:
Behind us, on the desert brown,
We saw the vultures swooping down,
And heard, as the grim night was falling,
The gorged wolf to his comrade calling.

"At length was heard a river sounding
'Midst that dry and dismal land,
And like a troop of wild deer bounding,
We hurried to its strand—
Among the maddened cattle rushing,
The crowd behind still forward pushing,
Till in the flood our limbs were drenched,
And the fierce rage of thirst was quenched.

"Hoarse-roaring, dark, the broad Gareep
In turbid streams was sweeping fast—
Huge sea-cows in its eddies deep
Loud snorting as we passed;
But that relentless robber clan
Richt through those waters wild and wan
Drove on, like sheep, our captive host,
Nor staid to rescue wretches lost.

"All shivering from the foaming flood,
We stood upon the strangers' ground,
When, with proud looks and gestures rude,
The white men gathered round:
And there, like cattle from the fold,
By Christians we were bought and sold,
'Midst laughter loud and looks of scorn,—
And roughly from each other torn.

[Conclusion next Month.]

DIALOGUE

Between a well-wisher, and a friend to the Slaves,
in the British Colonies.

BY A LADY.

(Concluded.)

B. But even if it would be my duty
to help this cause, if I had any hope of
being of any real service to it, it cannot

be necessary for me to put myself to inconvenience, perhaps incur ridicule, and certainly to offend my friends, when I know that nothing I can do will be of any avail. I have neither talent, power, nor influence: and if I exerted my utmost energy for years, the poor slaves would not be at all the better, while I might be a good deal the worse, for my doing so.

A. Do not say you can do nothing! there are many things that you can do, even if you possess neither talent, power, nor influence, beyond what fall to the lot of almost every member of society: at the very least you can inform yourself on the subject, and when you know sufficiently what are the dreadful evils produced by slavery in our colonies, you can help to make them known to others; this requires no shining abilities, nothing beyond ordinary common sense, and if this alone were done by all the women who think they wish well to the slaves, it would be a considerable help to their cause, for the great thing wanted is that the real nature of the slavery we are supporting should become known; if it were universally so, it seems impossible that its continuance should be long endured.

B. But I live almost out of society, so that what I could do in spreading intelligence can be of no importance.

A. Of as much importance probably as the "two mites which make a farthing," that the widow cast into the treasury, were to the object for which money was collected there; and she had a far stronger reason for withholding them than you have yet given for withholding your mite of assistance to the cause for which I plead. And can any disciple of Jesus, who remembers what he said on this occasion, think that because she cannot do much in a good cause, she may as well do nothing at all? Or can a disciple of his think that because she has received but one talent, she may without blame "dig in the earth and hide her lord's monecy?"

As to power and influence, it cannot be that you have none; every woman has a portion of each great enough to allow her to be useful in some measure; you can influence your husband, children, relations, friends, acquaintance, neighbors, in a certain manner and to a certain degree, either by bringing the subject to their minds, or by bringing their moral feelings and their religious principles to bear on it; which last is a very important

uncertain Ætna, the fruits that he has toiled to nourish may be blasted before he can gather them, and all that at the morning hour was brightness to his eye, at the eventide lie ruined in the ashes of desolation.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

AFRICA.

"Woman's heart,
Remembers Africa."

Forget her not! Forget her not!
Till ye've wrought a change in her dreary lot.
When ye are set at the social board,
When your souls are in converse poured,
When ye are gathered around the hearth,
Mingling your voices in friendly mirth,
When ye are met in the crowded hall,
When the merry feet of the dancers fall —
Never may Africa be forgot,
Till change hath come o'er her dreary lot!
Never, oh, never!

Forget her not! Forget her not!
Her wrongs are your country's foulest blot!
When ye list your children's shouts of play,
When ye soothe their transient griefs away,
When ye bend above the couch of pain,
Or watch where the dying head is lain,
But most of all, when you kneel in prayer,
To seek from your Father his daily care.
Never should Africa be forgot,
Till your land is cleansed from its foulest blot.
Never, oh, never!

SEYDL.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
MEN SELLING.

Slavery! what a name for christian lips!
what a fraternal greeting from the lips of freemen. I rose up as if from a dream. I had looked upon the advertisement till my eyes grew dim and my senses bewildered. I knew it was not a strange thing—I had seen such, although not frequently, before; but I had not perhaps perfectly caught their import, for I repeated the words now again and again, without a full comprehension of their meaning. They spoke of a sale of human beings with all the heartless and accustomed terms of trade; men women and children were to be disposed of at auction to the highest bidder. How could it be! In what had these miserable beings forfeited the common rights of humanity? Had the Almighty resumed his benefaction, and given them to be a spoil for those whom he had once made their brethren? Were they no longer possessed of the high capacities of an undying nature—had their destiny been changed, and a new portion assigned them, so that they were not in this life to win an eternity of future bliss or misery? Such might have seemed to be

their lot, from the fate that awaited them. They were to be sold and purchased as chattels—mere implements of labor; they were to drudge out a life of toil like the laborious ox, with whom they were classed in fellowship; their days were to wear away without a consciousness of their capabilities of mind, without knowledge, without thought, without religion. And yet these beings were men! men upon whom a merciful Creator had bestowed the boon of an immortal nature; whose souls had been kindled from the same spark as that which gave animation to the haughty forms of their oppressors. They were human beings, and they who bought and they who sold them, were in form and fashion like unto themselves. Nay, they called upon one God as their mutual Father,—upon one Saviour for redemption and everlasting life. Was it strange that I should gaze with a sick incredulity upon the paper which gave evidence of so much depravity—of such broad and heartless contempt of the divine law, and of the commonest dictates of humanity.

ELA.

The following poem is from the London Keepsake, for 1830, and was written by Mr. Pringle, the editor of that work. In a brief introduction the author says that "the chief incidents of the tale were related to him by an African boy, whom he first met with near the borders of the great Karroo, or Arid Desert. The expression of the orphan stranger, when asked about his kindred, was literally—"I am all alone in the world!" A few slight circumstances, characteristic of the country, are almost all that has been added to poor Marrossi's affecting narrative. The system of outrage and oppression of which this gives a specimen, has been ably developed by Dr. Philip, in his "Researches in Africa." Here let us ask: How many equally distressing "tales of woe"—of ruthless wrong and outrage—might be related by thousands of young negroes in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, &c. who have been STOLEN from their connexions in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky.

Ed. G. U. Emancipation.

THE BECHUANA BOY.

A story of the Cape Settlement.

I sat at noon-tide in my tent,
And looked across the desert, dun,
That 'neath the cloudless firmament
Lay gleaming in the sun;—
When, from the bosom of the waste,
A swarthy stripling came in haste,
With foot unshod and naked limb,
And a tame springbok following him.

He came with open aspect broad,
And modestly before me stood,
Caressing with a kindly hand
That fawn of gentle brood;
Then meekly gazing in my face,
Said, in the language of his race,
(With smiling look, yet pensive tone)—
"Stranger!—I'm in the world alone!"

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

No. 9. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

DECEMBER, 1830.

[WHOLE NUMBER 261, VOL. XI.]

The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* requests his correspondents, and publishers of periodical works, to direct their letters, papers, &c. in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

ANOTHER LIBEL!—YET ANOTHER!!

Since the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was issued, I learn that the Grand Jury of the city of Baltimore has made out a bill of indictment against me, for my animadversions upon the conduct of the petty jury, in Garrison's second suit. The number of the paper, containing those animadversions, was forwarded to all the subscribers while I resided in Baltimore. A short time thereafter I was informed that Wm. H. BEATTY (one of the jurors) threatened me with another prosecution. I had been to Washington, and made arrangements to remove thither; but hearing of this threat, I waited one day, to see whether he would put it in execution. Not learning any thing further upon the subject I returned to Washington, and engaged in business. About two weeks after this period I was informed that the Grand Jury had made out a bill of indictment, as above mentioned.

I am thus particular, in order that the public may know that I have not been driven from Baltimore by the persecution to which I have been doomed. It is a fact that Garrison and myself had made arrangements to establish the paper in Washington, more than a year ago. But just at that juncture the former prosecution for libel, &c. was instituted, and the removal was then voluntarily deferred, solely on that account. In the present case, a second arrangement was made, and the removal effected, before the suit was commenced; and (whatever they may do hereafter) I have not yet been cited to appear before any tribunal on account of the prosecution now pending. I do not know that I shall put myself to the inconvenience of going after my persecutors, expressly with the view of throwing myself in their way; but if they see proper to pursue me, where I may reside or my business may lead, they will ever find me ready to confront them in a legal manner.

The reader may expect to hear something

further upon this subject, in the next number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. I shall also soon lay before the public a statement, relative to the termination of my late suit against Woolfolk. If any think that I am disheartened,—I reply: "*Nous verrons*"—*We shall see*.

W. L. GARRISON'S LECTURES.

Since leaving Baltimore, this intrepid advocate of African emancipation has delivered lectures in sundry places, on the important subject to which he has latterly devoted his attention. He openly and boldly denounces the scheme of the *Colonization Society*, as visionary and impracticable. This has, of course, drawn upon him the most pointed censures of the particular friends of that institution. Their condemnation has been carried so far as to deny him the use of their Meeting-Houses, in several instances. At Boston he met with the most resolute opposition from those who had the charge of them; and before he obtained a hearing, he published the following notice in the "*Courier*" of that city.

"*Wanted*.—For three evenings, a Hall or Meeting-house, (the latter would be preferred,) in which to vindicate the rights of TWO MILLIONS of American citizens who are now groaning in servile chains in this boasted land of liberty; and also to propose just, benevolent and constitutional measures for their relief. As the address will be gratuitous, and as the cause is of public benefit, I cannot consent to remunerate any society for the use of its building. If this application fails, I propose to address the citizens of Boston in the open air, on the Common.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,

No. 30, Federal street, Oct. 11, 1830."

Soon after the appearance of this notice, he obtained the use of a spacious Hall, and delivered his lectures to large audiences.

The language which he uses is warm, energetic, and bold. Nothing but this will reach the adamant hearts of slavites, nor yet the "tender feelings" of our humane ones, whose senses are enveloped in a ten-fold encasement of apathy and unconcern. It is awfully surprising that such vast numbers of the citizens of this Republic, among whom are many of the loudest professors of religion and philanthropy, are so culpably, and even criminally negligent, relative to

nell, if thou could but witness the spectacles in Washington that make the genius of liberty droop her head in undissembled sorrow, you would lift your voice even to tones of thunder, but you would make yourself heard. Where is the O'Connell of this republic that will plead for the EMANCIPATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA? These shocking scenes must cease from amongst us, or we must cease to call ourselves free, aye, and we must cease to expect the mercy of God—we must prepare for the coming judgments of Him who, as our charter acknowledges, made all men "*free and equal*!"

PENN'A COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

This Association, though professedly auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, seems to confine its operations almost exclusively to the removal of liberated slaves from the U. S. to the colony of Liberia in Africa.—Success attend it!—It is, indeed, quite probable that the charge which it thus assumes has done more than any thing else to render it popular in Pennsylvania.

The citizens of Philadelphia have liberally contributed to its funds; and it is understood that, very recently, donations from England, to the amount of £250, have been received by the Treasurer. Of this sum £50 was from one of the *Female Anti-Slavery Societies*, in England; and the whole is to be appropriated, exclusively, to the "release of slaves from bondage." It is also stated in the Cincinnati "*Christian Journal*," that a plan has been set on foot in that city, to raise the sum of *two thousand dollars*, for a similar purpose to the above mentioned.

THE LATE WM. H. FITZHUGH.

The "*African Repository*," for October, states that this gentleman, in conformity with the character he had acquired for humanity and philanthropy, left a will by which *all his slaves are to be unconditionally free after the year 1850*. What the number is, at present, I do not certainly know, but suppose about two hundred.

It is much to be feared that the untimely demise of this patriotic Virginian will, probably, arrest an experiment that he set on foot, relative to the advantages of a system of *mitigated slave labor*—emphatically one of the most important steps yet taken, by the friends of emancipation, in our southern States. Would that we had a few more such men as him—whose prejudices were sufficiently subdued to let intelligent philanthropy and even-handed justice have a due influence upon their actions.—Then could we soon shew the slaveholders, generally, wherein their true interest lies.

But will not his "mantle" fall on some "Elisha" of our day?—May we not hope that the experiment which he commenced, as above

mentioned, will be carried out, and the public made acquainted, in due time, with its practical results?

The following extract is from the work above mentioned.—

"The arrangements made in his will, in regard to his slaves, are such as might have been expected from his generous and philanthropic spirit. We are permitted to make the following extract from his will. "After the year 1850, I leave all my negroes unconditionally free, with the privilege of having the expenses of their removal to whatever places of residence they may select, defrayed. And as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American Colony on the coast of Africa, where I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars shall be paid to each one so emigrating, on his or her arrival in Africa."

"In our number of August 1827, we gave some account of a plan adopted by Mr. Fitzhugh, for the gradual improvement of his slaves, and had his invaluable life been spared, much would have been done by him to prepare them duly to appreciate, and wisely to improve and enjoy, the benefits of Freedom. We trust that an example so bright, beneficent, exalted as his, will ever be loved and imitated in the State which he adorned, and the country which now laments the loss of his talents and his worth.

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I perceive that this work, for September, contains an article on the subject of African Colonization, in which the question of emancipation is also adverted to. The manner in which the latter subject is there handled, surprises me. I wonder at it the more, as the reputed author is not only a "learned divine," but likewise an avowed and zealous advocate for the total abolition of slavery.

He has taken occasion to express his unqualified censure of the course pursued by the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Of that, however, I have no right to complain. He has not only a perfect right to entertain his own opinion of it, but the privilege of stating his objections to it, in such terms as he may choose.

In my next, I purpose briefly to review his article:—yet while I pointedly condemn his mode of arguing the question, I trust he will receive that courtesy at my hands, which his well-known urbanity and weight of character entitle him to.

POPULAR RELIGION!

The following paragraph is extracted from the "*Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*," It is a curious article.

"SLAVERY.

The question submitted to us by "A Female Member of the Methodist Episcopal Church," on the subject of Slavery, involves considera-

tions too weighty for us to decide upon. We are not sufficiently acquainted with local circumstances, and other peculiarities in this case, to enable us to judge for another. All we can say is, in the language of the apostle, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather."

Now can we believe that if the question propounded by this female philanthropist, (as we suppose her to have been,) had related to some of the most abstruse subjects of polemical divinity, the editors would have found any difficulty in answering it? In other words, if it had been a *popular subject*, would they have considered it "too weighty" for them to decide on?

It is, indeed, astonishing that the high religious professors of the day have so far departed from the path marked out by him whose name they assume as the designation of their order, as to act thus inconsistently! Because the subject of emancipation is *unpopular*, nineteen twentieths of our loud professors of Christianity turn their faces from it. There are very few of the sectarians of the day that this observation will not apply to. For a large number of the members of the Methodist Church I entertain the greatest respect. They are sincere, honest, and pious.—But these are "sufficiently acquainted" with both general and "local circumstances," connected with the system of slavery, to set their faces decidedly against it, and can readily answer "questions" relating to it. In short, it is a *doubtful Christianity* that will shut its eyes to the abominations of this "supreme curse," and refuse to urge its extinction.

Upon a late occasion, I learn, that a preacher of the name of *Stockton* (also of the Methodist persuasion) recently held forth the monstrous doctrine contained in the annexed paragraph, when adverting to the subject of slavery, in the presence of a large Congregation in Baltimore. His words, I am told, were these:—

"Not upon us rests the guilt of its origin—not upon us rests the guilt of its continuance,"

This is another piece of *popular divinity*; and how the Reverend gentleman can reconcile it to a clear conscience, I am at some loss to judge. On whom, then, does the "guilt" of its "continuance" rest? Must it be thrown upon the *broad shoulders* of the "evil one"—the convenient scape-goat of all our sins, political and otherwise? This gentleman is requested to look deeper into the matter, to see whether he cannot find occasion to retract a part of these hasty assertions.

WORTHY OF RECORD.

I find the following in a late periodical work; and place it on record, for future reference.

"It has been stated, by a foreign writer, that the world is indebted to Ireland for the first ex-

amples of the formal abolition of the slave trade, by a country, and a sect. The Synod, at Armagh, in 1170, decreed the liberation of all slaves in that country; and the resolution passed at the General meeting of the Quakers in Dublin, in 1727, was the first step taken by this sect, to effect the emancipation of slaves."

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

It will rejoice the friends of emancipation to learn that the large body of christians, denominated Presbyterians, are beginning to make some effectual movements relative to the abolition of slavery within the limits of its jurisdiction. The noble example set by the *Society of Friends*, in totally eradicating the cruel and degrading system from the pale of its communion, is operating like the "leaven" spoken of in the Scriptures, which in due time will, no doubt, extend throughout the whole Christian Church. Nothing is wanting to accomplish this, but the active and persevering efforts of those who are convinced of its propriety.

A short time since, I received from a highly valued friend, who officiates as a Minister among the Presbyterians, a pamphlet of 50 pages, containing: "Two Letters on the subject of slavery, from the Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Churches under their care." These papers are too long for insertion in this work; but I shall take an early opportunity to review them, that its readers may be gratified with the perusal of some of the excellent sentiments and arguments contained in them.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

The British public has been roused. The most noble efforts are now making, in England, for the eradication of slavery from the colonies of that almost unbounded empire. Mr. Brougham, one of the most popular and powerful members of Parliament, is now considered the principal leader of this grand enterprise in the House of Commons. He has been recently elected chiefly on this ground, by the county of York, one of the largest and most wealthy in the kingdom; and we may look for important movements in the British Legislature, relative to this subject, during the coming session.

At a recent meeting of the Newcastle Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Brougham stated that the result of the late election (in England) had produced a powerful opposition to the Ministry, relative to slavery. "That election," he said, "had given the Anti-Slavery cause, out of 130 places, a clear balance of 80,—making an addition of 60 voices in its favor. The Prince of Waterloo had not gained more by dissolving his chambers, than Prince Polignac had by dissolving his."

The following is an extract from a speech of

this gentleman, in the House of Commons, on the 13th of July last. How supremely ridiculous would our "*republican*" orators, who labor to extenuate the crime of slave holding, appear beside this philanthropic monarchist! Our Colonization men, and all, would hide their very heads for *conscientious shame*! O that we had among us a few such "soul of fire" as Brougham and O'Connell!—But the time is not far distant when WE WILL HAVE THEM!

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Brougham.

"I trust that at length the time is come, when Parliament will no longer bear to be told that slave owners are the best lawgivers on slavery; no longer to suffer our voices to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings, and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it were before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Glenheim for the traffick in blood. Yet, in spite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffick is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffick, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware! the same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of Negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade; and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its clash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them; but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgment of God!"

The Yorkshire "Protestant Dissenters Association for the Abolition of Slavery," lately resolved to support such persons, only, for office, at the elections, as would pledge themselves to use their influence for the extinction of slavery in the colonies. They have publish-

ed an able address to their Christian brethren, upon the subject.

In France, too, the subject of abolishing slavery in the colonies of that empire, in the West Indies, is attracting the attention of the new government. The great, the good LAFAYETTE—the patriot and philanthropist of two hemispheres—has brought it before the Chamber of Deputies, in a speech which he recently delivered at one of its sittings. It is with peculiar pleasure that I make the following extract from the speech here alluded to. He does not, indeed, make any *positive proposition* for the total abolition of slavery, as it still exists in the colonies; but he *hints broadly* at the propriety of it; and, knowing, from his own mouth, the sentiments he entertains upon the subject, I have reason to believe that these hints will, in due time, be followed up with something still more pertinent and direct to the point. The proposition to place the free colored people precisely upon a footing with the whites, is a grand step towards the abrogation of all legal distinctions, and will inevitably, as it is no doubt intended, finally lead to such a state of things.*

Extract from the Speech of Gen. Lafayette.

"I feel always ready to unite in whatever tends to alleviate the unfortunate condition of the ancient and unhappy Colony of St. Domingo; but, after the debate which has just occupied our attention, the Chamber will not be disappointed if I pass over the present question, to the situation of the Colonies which are still in our possession. I regret very much that, at the time of the Constituent Assembly, the resolutions were not persisted in, which united the free people of color with the other colonists, in declaring them entitled to the same rights. I also wish that the slave trade had been rigorously interdicted, and that a law for the gradual abolition of slavery had prevented the misfortunes occasioned by a sudden and imprudent emancipation. And, since, have we not had sufficient reason to lament this Consular and Imperial system, which sent our best troops to perish in the sad expedition to St. Domingo, and which caused the double outrage of re-establishing slavery and the slave trade, at a time when none but French capital was engaged in this infamous traffic? Now gentlemen, after so many sacrifices and misfortunes, we find ourselves behindhand with many other nations, at least in the suppression of the slave trade. The United States first, the English immediately afterwards, have assimilated it with piracy, the only means of repressing it, whilst the guilty can obtain pecuniary indemnification from those who employ them, who, for example, send ships to St. Thomas to carry on the direct trade for

* According to Paris papers for September, the condition of the free colored population of Gaudaloupe and Martinique had been taken into consideration in the Chamber of Deputies. M. Alex. Laborde urged the necessity, now that they were moderating all aristocracies, to moderate "the most stupid of them all—the aristocracy of the skin."

slaves. It is to avoid consuming time with special propositions, and reference to the offices, that I entreat the Minister of Marine, who is present, (and of whose favorable intentions in this respect I am well aware) to communicate to us, decidedly, the determination of Government on this subject, and on the condition of the free men of color in our colonies."

In reply to the General, the Minister of Marine observed :—

"I have the honor of stating to the Chamber, that I agree entirely in the justice and humanity of the sentiments manifested by the illustrious General, who has just descended from the tribune. The Government proposes to present to the Chamber a law, which will condemn all those to the penalties of piracy who engage for the future in this infamous trade for human beings. It must be acknowledged that the trade has diminished, though, in spite of the precautions taken by Government, it still exists in a great degree. The penalties enacted against piracy can alone suppress it entirely. Something may at this time, however, be mentioned honorable to France, which is, that of all the European nations who have maritime commerce, she is least of all given to this odious traffic. As to the fate of the free people of the colonies, the Government acknowledges that free men can no longer exist in different conditions: thus the legislation which will be presented to you, will give you an opportunity of consecrating this principle, that all free men, of what class or color they may be, are equal in the eyes of the law."

The Chamber referred the petition to the Ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs.

The editor of the "American Statesman" is quite witty upon the subject of supplying the Turkish harems with Circassian female slaves. —But he might employ his sarcasms to much better advantage, (so far as his own country is concerned,) if he would extend his views to Louisiana, and *elsewhere*, and tell of the "cargoes" of handsome mulatto girls that are taken thither, some of whom soon become "Ladies," and dash away in fine style among white folks! Anon he shall have a text upon this subject.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

Among the ardent, steady, and persevering advocates of African Emancipation, to whom we are indebted for the most important services in effecting this great object in Pennsylvania and some of the adjacent States, we are to consider Anthony Benezet. Like the humble minded Lay, and Sandiford, and others, whose *unpretending* philanthropy assimilated to that of the *primitive christians*, this chosen instrument, in the hand of a merciful Providence, "pursued the even tenor of his way," without the appearance of ostentation or fear of consequences. True, he did not shun the halls of the self-styled "*noblesse*," when he thought any good might result from his presence there; neither

did he court popular favor, by making himself a candidate for public notoriety. He labored within what he considered his appropriate sphere, with honesty and purity of purpose, and, *in this account*, he was eminently successful in all his philanthropic undertakings.

In the following I shall present the reader with a brief review of that part of his biography which relates to his labors in the cause of African Emancipation, not having room for the many interesting details of his philanthropic proceedings in other respects. The work to which I am indebted for this account of the labors, &c. of Anthony Benezet, is a volume of memoirs, published at Philadelphia, in the year 1817, by Roberts Vaux, author of the biographical notices of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford, which have been reviewed in late numbers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

After mentioning some particulars relative to his genealogy, the author proceeds as follows :

"ANTHONY BENEZET, was born at St. Quentin, in France, on the thirty-first day of the Eleventh Month, (January) Anno Domini 1713, O. S. His parents were among the most noted and wealthy persons of that time. They associated themselves with those protestants who had been contemptuously denominated Huguenots on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and who became obnoxious to the unparalleled fury of Romish bigotry during the reign of Lewis XIV. John Stephen Benezet suffered as severely as any of his ancestors for a faithful attachment to his religious opinions. His estate on this account was confiscated in 1715, when he withdrew from his native country, and sought refuge in Holland.

At this time his son Anthony was an infant, a circumstance which no doubt greatly increased the solicitude of his parents, whose afflictions must have been almost insupportable, and whose flight was extremely perilous. It was natural for the protector of a family situated as he was, to resort to any means that might give hope of success to the hazardous enterprise which the urgent necessity of exile had dictated; so great an exigency probably reconciled to the mind of this suffering individual, the method he adopted to effect it, though it offered the bold alternative, which was to sacrifice either the life or the fidelity of the servant of the crown. To accomplish this purpose, he secured the services of a young man, upon whose attachment he could rely, to accompany him beyond one of the military outposts, which then skirted the frontier of France. Nothing occurred to interrupt their progress, until they approached the sentinel; when their adventurous friend presenting himself before him, displaying in one hand an instrument of death, and tendering with the other a purse of money, said, "*take your choice, this is a worthy family, flying from persecution, and they shall pass.*" the guard accepted the gold, and their escape was accomplished. They remained a few months in Rotterdam, and thence removed to London, where they resided sixteen years, during which time John Stephen Benezet, being engaged in commercial pursuits, was enabled to

the performance of their duties in the case before us. If ever the tremendous judgements of Heaven shall henceforth be visited upon a guilty nation, well may the giant sinners of this country tremble for their fate! "What *can* we do, what *can* we do?" is their cry from one end of the land to the other, while the lacerating scourge and blood-extorting fetters are clenched in either hand! Yes, even while the guilt-red-dened eye is rolling with fiery glare and the unblistered tongue pronouncing the form of prayer to the Eternal!! Were it proper to use the language of Christ, upon this occasion, I would say to such:—"Ye Scribes and Pharisees Hypocrites!" DO JUSTICE. This is consistent with *every thing in nature*—every thing in heaven and earth, that comes from the almighty hand, and is regulated by the infallible wisdom of God. You *may* "set the captives free," with **SUITABLE RESTRICTIONS BY LAW**. You *may*, first, destroy the hellish traffic in their blood and souls—secondly, commute their punishments, in cases of neglecting their duties as laborers, for a system of rewards—thirdly, prepare the young for the enjoyment of liberty, with the same restrictions that you are under yourselves. This you may *immediately* do, with strict propriety and perfect safety; and at the same time more of them may be induced to emigrate, under such a regulation.

I do not wholly approve of our friend Garrison's sweeping denunciation of the American Colonization Society. I readily admit that some of the doctrines, promulgated by its members, are at variance with the principles of justice—particularly the sentiment advanced by them, that the colored race *cannot* be prepared for freedom in the United States. I consider this doctrine monstrous; and I am sorry to perceive that so amiable a writer as the editor of the "American Spectator," has fallen in the wake of this popularity-seeking philanthropy. He, as well as others, may reconcile it to their consciences, but I could not to mine. I boldly assert, *that the spot on which a man is born is his rightful home*. DEITY PLACED HIM THERE. And nothing within the bounds of reason, religion, justice, or even *expediency*, can drive him thence against his will. I strongly object, also, to the timid, half-way measures, adopted by the Colonization Society, for the melioration of the condition of the African race. Indeed, I cannot depend upon it alone, in any sense of the word, as an institution for the *abolition of slavery*. It looks only to the removal of the *free people of color*, and their settlement in Africa. And we might as well, to quote an old fashioned couplet,

"Bail dry old Ocean with a thimble,
Or pierce the great Globe with a wimble,"
as attempt the abolition of slavery solely by this means. As I have said before, we might, with almost the same propriety, undertake to remove this *Continent* itself to Africa, as to send thither the whole of the colored race in the United States. *It will never be done*:—and those who calculate on it are merely administering to their troubled minds a species of anodyne that will neither diminish the cause nor the magnitude of their evil forebodings.

But I am clearly of the opinion, that *every effort* that is made to exhibit to public view the deplorable condition of the colored race, must have a *tendency* to mitigate it; and hence I consider the efforts of the Colonization Society highly beneficial to our cause, and sincerely desire that it may continue to prosper, while I still urge the adoption of *more efficient measures* for the consummation of our great and philanthropic undertaking.

I have extended this article to a much greater length than I intended when I began: but I will, in conclusion, give an extract from one of Garrison's letters, that his sentiments may be conveyed in his own language.

"My public addresses give great offence to our northern dough-faces, but God forbid that I should cease to plead as boldly for my black countrymen, as my white ones plead for each other, and for Greeks, and for Frenchmen! Are you not disgusted with the hypocrisy of the American people? They can *patriotically* flame on the subject of the revolution in France—give dinners—sing songs—drink toasts—form processions—make addresses—and illumine their houses; but as for feeling any compassion for the millions of their own countrymen in chains, that is out of the question—that would be a vulgar pity! I perceive that in Richmond, Va. and Charleston, S. C. the slave-holders are shouting *psalms* of praise in behalf of the French revolutionists! Do these republican despots reflect, that they are putting weighty and bloody arguments into the mouths of their poor oppressed slaves? And these arguments, I verily believe, will, ere long, be returned at the point of the bayonet—in fire and blood. Heaven will not—cannot much longer tolerate the hypocrisy and blasphemy of our republican rites.

For ourselves, let us hold no fellowship with slaveholders.* Let us not make a truce with them even for an hour. Let us blush for them as countrymen. Let us never embrace them as christians. And the higher they raise their professions of patriotism or piety, the stronger must be our detestation of their hypocrisy. They are dishonest and cruel—and God, and the angels, and devils, and the universe know that they are without excuse. A republican or christian slaveholder is as great a solaceism as a

*A denunciations of slaveholders I could say.—G. U. E.

religious atheist, a sober drunkard, or an honest thief.

Do you know that I have taken up a crusade against the American Colonization Society? Perhaps I am as mad as was the chivalrous Don Quixotte, and may meet a similar fate. But seriously: the more I examine the pretensions of this Society, the stronger is my conviction of its injurious operation; and the more I interrogate its principle, the greater is my dislike to it. A sense of duty to my God and my countrymen compels me to denounce the African Colonization scheme; and in one of my addresses I open a strong battery against it. Some of the members of the A. C. S. are very angry with me, and oppose me with great bitterness: but truth is mighty and will prevail." I am persuaded that the cause of the poor slaves will suffer from the avowed principles and ridiculous pretensions of the Society. Instead of urging its claims exclusively to the attention and patronage of the nation, why do not its members warn the people that more energetic measures are necessary? Why are their lips sealed up on the abstract question of slavery? Why is every man to be hunted down, and proscribed as a mad man or fanatic, who contends for immediate abolition, or who dares to interrogate the motives of the Society? Why do they continue to talk of the *feasibility* of colonizing our colored population, when they might as well think of suppressing the wind by bottling it up? *Why, in short, are they at such pains to convince slaveholders, that they do not question their right to hold men in bondage?"*

THE ABOMINABLE TRADE.

It will be gratifying to the friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause to learn, that many of the most worthy citizens of the District of Columbia are becoming more and more alive to the evils of the *Internal Slave Trade*. They are beginning not only to view the subject in its proper light, but also to *speak of it*, in a manner evincive of their utter abhorrence of every thing connected with it. Let this spirit be fostered, and a course of action commensurate therewith encouraged, and this monstrous anomaly, thus tolerated in our civil regulations, will as surely be annihilated, as that there is power in public opinion.

In addition to the deep condemnation, uttered verbally, in public and in private, the voice of philanthropy is heard through the medium of the newspaper press. I have several times noticed, with approbation, some of the remarks on this subject, from the pen of the Rev. W. Colton, late editor of the "*American Spectator*," published in the city of Washington. A change of both editors and proprietors of that valuable work has recently taken place; yet it is with pleasure I perceive that those, in whose hands it has fallen, are as fully awake to the horrors

of the system of slavery, and especially the slave trade in our own country, as were their predecessors. The following appeared as an editorial article in a late number of the "*Spectator*." This subject will be further noticed hereafter.

THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE CAPITOL.

"The tender ties of father, husband, friend,
All broken in that moment end,
And each endures while yet he draws his breath,
A stroke as fatal as the scythe of death;
They lose in tears, the far receding shore
But not the thought that they shall meet no more!"

It is well, perhaps, the American people should know, that while we reiterate our boasts of liberty in the ears of the nations, and send back across the Atlantic our shouts of joy at the triumph of liberty in France, we ourselves are busily engaged in the work of oppression.—Yes, let it be known to the citizens of America, that at the very time when the procession which contained the President of the United States and his Cabinet was marching in triumph to the Capitol, to celebrate the victory of the French people over their oppressors, another kind of procession was marching another way, and that consisted of colored human beings handcuffed in pairs, and driven along by what had the appearance of a man on a horse! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last; a *drone* consisting of males and females chained in couples, starting from Robey's tavern on foot, for Alexandria, where, with others, they are to embark on board a slave-ship in waiting to convey them to the South. While we are writing, a colored man enters our room, and begs us to inform him if we can point out any person who will redeem his friend now immured in Alexandria jail, in a state of distress amounting almost to distraction.* He has been a faithful servant of a revolutionary officer who recently died—has been sold at auction—parted from affectionate parents—and from decent and mourning friends. Our own servant, with others, of whom we can speak in commendatory terms, went down to Alexandria to bid him farewell, but they were refused admission to his cell, because, as was said, "the sight of his friends made him take on so." He bears the reputation of a pious man. It is but a few weeks since we saw a ship with her cargo of slaves in the port of Norfolk, Va.; on passing up the river saw another ship off Alexandria, swarming with the victims of human cupidity. Such are the scenes enacting in the heart of the American nation. Oh patriotism! where is thy indignation? Oh philanthropy! where is thy grief? OH SHAME! WHERE IS THY BLUSH? Well may the generous and noble minded O'Connell say of the American citizen, "*I tell him he is a hypocrite. Look at the stain in your star-spangled standard that was never struck down in battle. I turn from the declaration of American Independence, and I tell him that he has declared to God and man a lie, and before God and man I arraign him as a hypocrite.*" Yes, thou soul of fire, glorious O'Con-

*At the same time this man was sold, another—a husband—was knocked off. The tears and agonies of his wife made such an impression on the mind of a generous spectator, that he bought him back.

* Why shall we tolerate freedom of opinion?
G. U. E.

nell, if thou could but witness the spectacles in Washington that make the genius of liberty droop her head in undissembled sorrow, you would lift your voice even to tones of thunder, but you would make yourself heard. Where is the O'Connell of this republic that will plead for the EMANCIPATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA? These shocking scenes must cease from amongst us, or we must cease to call ourselves free, aye, and we must cease to expect the mercy of God—we must prepare for the coming judgments of Him who, as our charter acknowledges, made all men "*free and equal*!"

PENN'A COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

This Association, though professedly auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, seems to confine its operations almost exclusively to the removal of liberated slaves from the U. S. to the colony of Liberia in Africa.—Success attend it!—It is, indeed, quite probable that the charge which it thus assumes has done more than any thing else to render it popular in Pennsylvania.

The citizens of Philadelphia have liberally contributed to its funds; and it is understood that, very recently, donations from England, to the amount of £250, have been received by the Treasurer. Of this sum £50 was from one of the *Female Anti-Slavery Societies*, in England; and the whole is to be appropriated, exclusively, to the "release of slaves from bondage." It is also stated in the Cincinnati "*Christian Journal*," that a plan has been set on foot in that city, to raise the sum of *two thousand dollars*, for a similar purpose to the above mentioned.

THE LATE WM. H. FITZHUGH.

The "*African Repository*," for October, states that this gentleman, in conformity with the character he had acquired for humanity and philanthropy, left a will by which *all his slaves are to be unconditionally free after the year 1850*. What the number is, at present, I do not certainly know, but suppose about two hundred.

It is much to be feared that the untimely demise of this patriotic Virginian will, probably, arrest an experiment that he set on foot, relative to the advantages of a system of *mitigated slave labor*—emphatically one of the most important steps yet taken, by the friends of emancipation, in our southern States. Would that we had a few more such men as him—whose prejudices were sufficiently subdued to let intelligent philanthropy and even-handed justice have a due influence upon their actions.—Then could we soon shew the slaveholders, generally, wherein their true interest lies.

But will not his "*mantle*" fall on some "*Elisha*" of our day?—May we not *hope* that the experiment which he commenced, as above

mentioned, will be carried out, and the public made acquainted, in due time, with its practical results?

The following extract is from the work above mentioned.—

"The arrangements made in his will, in regard to his slaves, are such as might have been expected from his generous and philanthropic spirit. We are permitted to make the following extract from his will. "After the year 1850, I leave all my negroes unconditionally free, with the privilege of having the expenses of their removal to whatever places of residence they may select, defrayed. And as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American Colony on the coast of Africa, where I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire not only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars shall be paid to each one so emigrating, on his or her arrival in Africa."

"In our number of August 1827, we gave some account of a plan adopted by Mr. Fitzhugh, for the gradual improvement of his slaves, and had his invaluable life been spared, much would have been done by him to prepare them duly to appreciate, and wisely to improve and enjoy, the benefits of Freedom. We trust that an example so bright, beneficent, exalted as his, will ever be loved and imitated in the State which he adorned, and the country which now laments the loss of his talents and his worth.

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I perceive that this work, for September, contains an article on the subject of African Colonization, in which the question of emancipation is also adverted to. The manner in which the latter subject is there handled, surprises me. I wonder at it the more, as the reputed author is not only a "learned divine," but likewise an avowed and zealous advocate for the total abolition of slavery.

He has taken occasion to express his unqualified censure of the course pursued by the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Of that, however, I have no right to complain. He has not only a perfect right to entertain his own opinion of it, but the privilege of stating his objections to it, in such terms as he may choose.

In my next, I purpose briefly to review his article:—yet while I pointedly condemn his mode of arguing the question, I trust he will receive that courtesy at my hands, which his well-known urbanity and weight of character entitle him to.

POPULAR RELIGION!

The following paragraph is extracted from the "*Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*," It is a curious article.

"SLAVERY.

The question submitted to us by "*A Female Member of the Methodist Episcopal Church*," on the subject of Slavery, involves considera-

tions too weighty for us to decide upon. We are not sufficiently acquainted with local circumstances, and other peculiarities in this case, to enable us to judge for another. All we can say is, in the language of the apostle, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather."

Now can we believe that if the question propounded by this female philanthropist, (as we suppose her to have been,) had related to some of the most abstruse subjects of polemical divinity, the editors would have found any difficulty in answering it? In other words, if it had been a *popular subject*, would they have considered it "too weighty" for them to decide on?

It is, indeed, astonishing that the high religious professors of the day have so far departed from the path marked out by him whose name they assume as the designation of their order, as to act thus inconsistently! Because the subject of emancipation is *unpopular*, nineteen twentieths of our loud professors of Christianity turn their faces from it. There are very few of the sectarians of the day that this observation will not apply to. For a large number of the members of the Methodist Church I entertain the greatest respect. They are sincere, honest, and pious.—But these are "sufficiently acquainted" with both general and "local circumstances," connected with the system of slavery, to set their faces decidedly against it, and can readily answer "questions" relating to it. In short, it is a *doubtful Christianity* that will shut its eyes to the abominations of this "*supreme curse*," and refuse to urge its extinction.

Upon a late occasion, I learn, that a preacher of the name of *Stockton* (also of the Methodist persuasion) recently held forth the monstrous doctrine contained in the annexed paragraph, when adverting to the subject of slavery, in the presence of a large Congregation in Baltimore. His words, I am told, were these:—

"Not upon us rests the guilt of its origin—not upon us rests the guilt of its continuance."

This is another piece of *popular divinity*; and how the Reverend gentleman can reconcile it to a clear conscience, I am at some loss to judge. On whom, then, does the "guilt" of its "continuance" rest? Must it be thrown upon the *broad shoulders* of the "evil one"—the convenient scape-goat of all our sins, political and otherwise? This gentleman is requested to look deeper into the matter, to see whether he cannot find occasion to retract a part of these hasty assertions.

WORTHY OF RECORD.

I find the following in a late periodical work; and place it on record, for future reference.

"It has been stated, by a foreign writer, that the world is indebted to Ireland for the first ex-

amples of the formal abolition of the slave trade, by a country, and a sect. The Synod, at Armagh, in 1170, decreed the liberation of all slaves in that country; and the resolution passed at the General meeting of the Quakers in Dublin, in 1727, was the first step taken by this sect, to effect the emancipation of slaves."

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

It will rejoice the friends of emancipation to learn that the large body of christians, denominated Presbyterians, are beginning to make some effectual movements relative to the abolition of slavery within the limits of its jurisdiction. The noble example set by the *Society of Friends*, in totally eradicating the cruel and degrading system from the pale of its communion, is operating like the "leaven" spoken of in the Scriptures, which in due time will, no doubt, extend throughout the whole Christian Church. Nothing is wanting to accomplish this, but the active and persevering efforts of those who are convinced of its propriety.

A short time since, I received from a highly valued friend, who officiates as a Minister among the Presbyterians, a pamphlet of 50 pages, containing: "Two Letters on the subject of slavery, from the Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Churches under their care." These papers are too long for insertion in this work; but I shall take an early opportunity to review them, that its readers may be gratified with the perusal of some of the excellent sentiments and arguments contained in them.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

The British public has been roused. The most noble efforts are now making, in England, for the eradication of slavery from the colonies of that almost unbounded empire. Mr. Brougham, one of the most popular and powerful members of Parliament, is now considered the principal leader of this grand enterprise in the House of Commons. He has been recently elected chiefly on this ground, by the county of York, one of the largest and most wealthy in the kingdom; and we may look for important movements in the British Legislature, relative to this subject, during the coming session.

At a recent meeting of the Newcastle Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. Brougham stated that the result of the late election (in England) had produced a powerful opposition to the Ministry, relative to slavery. "That election," he said, "had given the Anti-Slavery cause, out of 130 places, a clear balance of 80,—making an addition of 60 voices in its favor. The Prince of Waterloo had not gained more by dissolving his chambers, than Prince Polignac had by dissolving his."

The following is an extract from a speech of

this gentleman, in the House of Commons, on the 13th of July last. How supremely ridiculous would our "*republican*" orators, who labor to extenuate the crime of slave holding, appear beside this philanthropic monarchist! Our Colonization men, and all, would hide their very heads for *conscientious shame*! O that we had among us a few such "souls of fire" as Brougham and O'Connell!—But the time is not far distant when WE WILL HAVE THEM!

Extract from the Speech of Mr. Brougham.

"I trust that at length the time is come, when Parliament will no longer bear to be told that slave owners are the best lawgivers on slavery; no longer to suffer our voices to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings, and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it were before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Glenheim for the traffick in blood. Yet, in spite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffick is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffick, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware! the same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of Negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade; and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its clash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them; but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgment of God!"

The Yorkshire "Protestant Dissenters Association for the Abolition of Slavery," lately resolved to support such persons, only, for office, at the elections, as would pledge themselves to use their influence for the extinction of slavery in the colonies. They have publish-

ed an able address to their Christian brethren, upon the subject.

In France, too, the subject of abolishing slavery in the colonies of that empire, in the West Indies, is attracting the attention of the new government. The great, the good LAFAYETTE—the patriot and philanthropist of two hemispheres—has brought it before the Chamber of Deputies, in a speech which he recently delivered at one of its sittings. It is with peculiar pleasure that I make the following extract from the speech here alluded to. He does not, indeed, make any *positive proposition* for the total abolition of slavery, as it still exists in the colonies; but he *hints broadly* at the propriety of it; and, knowing, from his own mouth, the sentiments he entertains upon the subject, I have reason to believe that these hints will, in due time, be followed up with something still more pertinent and direct to the point. The proposition to place the free colored people precisely upon a footing with the whites, is a grand step towards the abrogation of all legal distinctions, and will inevitably, as it is no doubt intended, finally lead to such a state of things.*

Extract from the Speech of Gen. Lafayette.

"I feel always ready to unite in whatever tends to alleviate the unfortunate condition of the ancient and unhappy Colony of St. Domingo; but, after the debate which has just occupied our attention, the Chamber will not be disappointed if I pass over the present question, to the situation of the Colonies which are still in our possession. I regret very much that, at the time of the Constituent Assembly, the resolutions were not persisted in, which united the free people of color with the other colonists, in declaring them entitled to the same rights. I also wish that the slave trade had been rigorously interdicted, and that a law for the gradual abolition of slavery had prevented the misfortunes occasioned by a sudden and imprudent emancipation. And, since, have we not had sufficient reason to lament this Consular and Imperial system, which sent our best troops to perish in the sad expedition to St. Domingo, and which caused the double outrage of re-establishing slavery and the slave trade, at a time when none but French capital was engaged in this infamous traffick? Now gentlemen, after so many sacrifices and misfortunes, we find ourselves behindhand with many other nations, at least in the suppression of the slave trade. The United States first, the English immediately afterwards, have assimilated it with piracy, the only means of repressing it, whilst the guilty can obtain pecuniary indemnification from those who employ them, who, for example, send ships to St. Thomas to carry on the direct trade for

* According to Paris papers for September, the condition of the free colored population of Gaudaloupe and Martinique had been taken into consideration in the Chamber of Deputies. M. Alex. Laborde urged the necessity, now that they were moderating all aristocracies, to moderate "the most stupid of them all—the aristocracy of the skin."

slaves. It is to avoid consuming time with special propositions, and reference to the offices, that I entreat the Minister of Marine, who is present, (and of whose favorable intentions in this respect I am well aware) to communicate to us, decidedly, the determination of Government on this subject, and on the condition of the free men of color in our colonies."

In reply to the General, the Minister of Marine observed :—

"I have the honor of stating to the Chamber, that I agree entirely in the justice and humanity of the sentiments manifested by the illustrious General, who has just descended from the tribune. The Government proposes to present to the Chamber a law, which will condemn all those to the penalties of piracy who engage for the future in this infamous trade for human beings. It must be acknowledged that the trade has diminished, though, in spite of the precautions taken by Government, it still exists in a great degree. The penalties enacted against piracy can alone suppress it entirely. Something may at this time, however, be mentioned honorable to France, which is, that of all the European nations who have maritime commerce, she is least of all given to this odious traffic. As to the fate of the free people of the colonies, the Government acknowledges that free men can no longer exist in different conditions: thus the legislation which will be presented to you, will give you an opportunity of consecrating this principle, that all free men, of what class or color they may be, are equal in the eyes of the law."

The Chamber referred the petition to the Ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs.

The editor of the "American Statesman" is quite witty upon the subject of supplying the Turkish harems with Circassian female slaves. —But he might employ his sarcasms to much better advantage, (so far as his own country is concerned,) if he would extend his views to Louisiana, and *elsewhere*, and tell of the "cargoes" of hand-ome mulatto girls that are taken thither, some of whom soon become "Ladies," and dash away in fine style among white folks! Anon he shall have a *text* upon this subject.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

Among the ardent, steady, and persevering advocates of African Emancipation, to whom we are indebted for the most important services in effecting this great object in Pennsylvania and some of the adjacent States, we are to consider Anthony Benezet. Like the humble minded Lay, and Sandiford, and others, whose *unpretending* philanthropy assimilated to that of the *primitive christians*, this chosen instrument, in the hand of a merciful Providence, "pursued the even tenor of his way," without the appearance of ostentation or fear of consequences. True, he did not shun the halls of the self-styled "*noblesse*," when he thought any good might result from his presence there; neither

did he court popular favor, by making himself a candidate for public notoriety. He labored within what he considered his appropriate sphere, with honesty and purity of purpose, and, *in this account*, he was eminently successful in all his philanthropic undertakings.

In the following I shall present the reader with a brief review of that part of his biography which relates to his labors in the cause of African Emancipation, not having room for the many interesting details of his philanthropic proceedings in other respects. The work to which I am indebted for this account of the labors, &c. of Anthony Benezet, is a volume of memoirs, published at Philadelphia, in the year 1817, by Roberts Vaux, author of the biographical notices of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford, which have been reviewed in late numbers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

After mentioning some particulars relative to his genealogy, the author proceeds as follows :

"ANTHONY BENEZET, was born at St. Quentin, in France, on the thirty-first day of the Eleventh Month, (January) Anno Domini 1713, O. S. His parents were among the most noted and wealthy persons of that time. They associated themselves with those protestants who had been contemptuously denominated Huguenots on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and who became obnoxious to the unparalleled fury of Romish bigotry during the reign of Lewis XIV. John Stephen Benezet suffered as severely as any of his ancestors for a faithful attachment to his religious opinions. His estate on this account was confiscated in 1715, when he withdrew from his native country, and sought refuge in Holland.

At this time his son Anthony was an infant, a circumstance which no doubt greatly increased the solicitude of his parents, whose afflictions must have been almost insupportable, and whose flight was extremely perilous. It was natural for the protector of a family situated as he was, to resort to any means that might give hope of success to the hazardous enterprise which the urgent necessity of exile had dictated; so great an exigency probably reconciled to the mind of this suffering individual, the method he adopted to effect it, though it offered the bold alternative, which was to sacrifice either the life or the fidelity of the servant of the crown. To accomplish this purpose, he secured the services of a young man, upon whose attachment he could rely, to accompany him beyond one of the military outposts, which then skirted the frontier of France. Nothing occurred to interrupt their progress, until they approached the sentinel; when their adventurous friend presenting himself before him, displaying in one hand an instrument of death, and tendering with the other a purse of money, said, "*take your choice, this is a worthy family, flying from persecution, and they shall pass;*" the guard accepted the gold, and their escape was accomplished. They remained a few months in Rotterdam, and thence removed to London, where they resided sixteen years, during which time John Stephen Benezet, being engaged in commercial pursuits, was enabled to

recover in some degree the losses he had sustained in his fortune. Whilst in Great Britain, Anthony received an education that was deemed sufficient to qualify him for mercantile business, to acquire a knowledge of which, his father placed him with one of the most respectable traders of the metropolis. In this situation he did not long continue, declining, from motives of a religious nature, to be occupied in the enterprises of commerce. Having chosen a mechanical business he engaged himself with a cooper, but it proved to be an employment too laborious for his youthful and naturally delicate frame.

"Of his juvenile habits and dispositions, but an imperfect account is preserved; it is only known that when about fourteen years old he was united in membership with the religious society of Friends, called Quakers. Whether the early development of his mind yielded any promise of the future excellence of his character, no evidence now remains. In the year 1731, at the age of eighteen, he came with his parents to Philadelphia, where the family was permanently established. His pursuits during the first five years after his emigration to Pennsylvania cannot be ascertained.

"In 1736 he formed a matrimonial union with Joyce Marriott, a woman of exemplary piety. Three years after his marriage he removed to Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, and was there engaged in a branch of manufacture, which neither answering his expectation, nor suiting the disposition of his mind, induced him to return in a few months to Philadelphia.

"The unsettled state in which he appears to have been at this period, in relation to his secular occupations, may be attributed to the operation of those benevolent principles of his nature which had not hitherto been brought into complete action, as well as to the desire he cherished, that the energies of his mind might be directed to the most useful and salutary purposes."

He appears frequently to have changed the place of his residence; and at the age of 26, we find him engaged in teaching a school at Germantown, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. A portion of his time, while in that situation, was employed in proof-reading for a printer near whom he lived. Passing over many incidents of his life, not immediately connected with the subject before us, the language of his biographer is again used.

"He looked upon the globe as his country, and considered all mankind as his brethren. With such enlightened and unbounded philanthropy, it was to be expected that the degraded and suffering condition of the negroes would occupy a large share of his notice and sympathy. About the year 1750, it began to be observed that his feelings were deeply affected with the iniquity of the slave trade, the unlawfulness of carrying negroes into captivity, and the cruelty which was exercised by those who purchased and employed them. The impulses of duty then, for the first time, brought him from the retirement of private life before the world, to lift up his voice in behalf of an oppressed and wretched portion of his fellow beings.

"Among the earlier proofs of his compassion toward the African race, were the practical exertions which he employed for the promotion

of their welfare. In Philadelphia, the number of these objects of his regard was considerable, and he adopted the most rational course which could have been devised for their benefit, by the establishment of an evening school, which he taught gratuitously himself.*

He was fully convinced, from practical observation, that the natural capacities of Africans are equal to the rest of mankind, as the annexed quotation will prove.

"Among other important facts concerning the dispositions and mental capacities of the negroes, which his intercourse with them as a teacher had afforded him the best opportunity to establish, was, that they possessed intellectual powers by no means inferior to any other portion of mankind. His opinion on this interesting point is entitled to the highest consideration, not only because it vindicates those attributes of the Deity, which religion and reason conspire reverently to acknowledge, but being a determination of the judgment upon practical examination, it ought to be regarded as a solemn and unanswerable protest against the subtle sophistry, degrading avarice, and refined cruelty, by whose unholy league attempts have been made to prove that a sable skin cannot envelope a rational creature!

"I can (said Benezet) with truth and sincerity declare, that I have found amongst the negroes as great variety of talents, as among a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some, that the blacks are inferior in their capacities, is a vulgar prejudice, founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them."

He wrote several treatises on the subject of slavery, the largest and most important of which were entitled:

First. "*An account of that part of Africa inhabited by the negroes.*" 1762.

Second. "*A caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, on the calamitous state of the enslaved negroes.*" 1767.

Third. "*An historical account of Guinea, its situation, produce, and the general disposition of its inhabitants; with an inquiry into the rise and progress of the slave trade, its nature and calamitous effects.*"†

(Conclusion next Month.)

*Dr. Wilson, late rector of St. Stephens, Walbrook, England, a short time before his decease, sent fifty pounds sterling to him, to be applied to the support of this school, intending to have doubled the benefaction; but he died before he effected his benevolent purpose.

†Notwithstanding the governments of the United States and Great Britain have by law forbidden the commerce in human beings, there is cause for believing that the slave trade is still surreptitiously carried on, by some of the citizens of both countries, under cover of foreign flags. When we reflect upon such violations of civil and sacred prohibition, and are at the same moment aware that the horrid practice of kidnapping free negroes is pursued in some of the states of our union, and also recollect, that more than a million of slaves are owned within its jurisdiction, famed as is the empire of the west for rational liberty and equal laws, the understanding revolts, and the feeling mind sickens at the consideration.

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

WELL-WISHERS.

There is a class of persons professedly favorable to the cause of emancipation, who nevertheless content themselves with vague hopes and wishes for the discontinuance of slavery, at some indefinite period, without once attempting to hasten the hour of its approach, by any thing like active exertion. They are perfectly willing that the good work of emancipation should be accomplished—that millions of their fellow creatures should be raised from the miserable condition of beasts of burden, to the rank of men and useful citizens—provided, only, that such consent involves nothing like personal exertion, no possible inconvenience to themselves, during the process of this transformation. They acknowledge the deep iniquity of the system of slavery, but they act as if the admission of its criminality, instead of being merely prefatory to amendment, was amply sufficient of itself to satisfy all the demands of justice, to silence all the reproaches of conscience. They appear to have one species of justice for their theory, and another, vastly lower in its standard, for actual practice;—or rather, the high and true rule of moral equity by which they meet out justice between themselves, swerve instantly from their even measure when the rights of their sable brethren are brought into competition with their own convenience, or their prejudices. Certainly, say they, every man has a just and natural right to his own person, and to the control of his own conduct, so long as it interferes not with the well-being of others. Yet should the ancestors of any individual, unfortunately guilty of having been gifted by his Maker with a sable brow, have been violently wrenched in some terrible scene of ruin and conflagration from their native home, and having been dragged to some distant land, there sold into perpetual bondage—then, under such circumstances, the right of the individual to his own flesh and sinews, or of the Creator to the being whom he has made, is superseded and invalidated by the claims of one who hath bought him for money, or received him as a *lawful* inheritance; and, although we regard with horror the idea of

trafficking in human flesh, or holding our fellow men in a state of slavery; yet we would not be so unjust as to wish rashly to deprive the slaveholders of their *property*. We know that the employment of free laborers would be much more advantageous to the planter, but we can convince him of this only by practical experiment; and it is not worth while for us to undergo the expense and inconvenience of obtaining *free articles* unless every one else *would do the same*. So stands the argument; and so, were it committed to their hands, would the destinies of the slave stand unaltered for ages, unless some terrible convulsion, like the sudden springing of a mine, should at once tear asunder the bonds of the slave and overwhelm his master beneath the falling ruins of his wall of oppression.

A PRISON SCENE.

There is much said of the misery induced by the internal slave-trade; tale after tale is repeated, of the separation of families—of the dearest ties of the affections violently broken—of hearts closely allied in their natural affinities, as the leaves that flourish upon one bough, torn rudely assunder and left to bleed and wither far distant from each other and from the parent stem that nourished them. Yet, terrible as are the catastrophies which sometimes arise out of such scenes, we believe they seldom come before the heart in the startling vividness of reality. The ear has been so long habituated to the repulsive terms of slavery, that it almost ceases to regard them; and the mention of a sale of human beings is heard by many persons with as little emotion as if they were unbreathing chattels. To others, the very enormity of the circumstance gives it an air of unreality. The reason may yield an unwilling assent to the facts, but the imagination turns loathing away from the view of so detestable a traffic, and the mind refuses to receive the comprehension of such a scene. To some, indeed, the existence at the present day of so foul a disgrace to our country, is almost unknown. The abolition of the foreign slave trade is conceived to have removed from slavery the most objectionable features, and they are not aware that piratical traders abroad, and regular unblushing dealers in human flesh and sinews in our own land, still pour out to the children of Africa a cup of intolerable cruelty.

These reflections were suggested by our accidentally meeting the other day with a short narration of the following circumstance. A gentleman who visited the prison in Washington

City, found in one of the cells a negro mother and three children, who had been brought from Maryland and were confined there for sale. They were offered in "one lot," or for the accommodation of purchasers they would be parted and disposed of separately to different individuals. Upon enquiring more particularly into their history, the gentleman found that she was the mother of nine children and the wife of a free man. He had toiled industriously and hard to provide for his family, and as they grew of an age to satisfy the rapacious cravings of the monster who claimed them for his prey, the children had been torn one by one from the sheltering arms of parental affection, and sold into a distant captivity. At last his wife and his three only remaining ones were snatched away, and he was left in his declining years alone and desolate to weep beside his forsaken hearth-stone.

And she—to whose woman's heart had come all that weight of unutterable suffering—what was to be her future lot? Were the loving eyes that she had gazed upon so long, and the soft voices whose tones she had treasured up in her heart till they had become her world of happiness, to be seen and heard no more forever? Who could know the agony of her bereaved spirit, as she sat amid the dark loneliness of that damp cell! Who could tell what images of despair were gathering with a horrid distinctness about her brain, as the thought of a still further separation came upon her soul, when the hollow echo of an approaching foot-fall caught her ear, and with a wild shriek she sprung forward and clasped her infants to her bosom as if she would have hidden them in the very centre of her heart from the grasp of the spoiler! And can woman—free, happy, cherished woman—think unmoved upon these things? She, whose compassionate nature is moved for the sufferings of the lowest of the animal creation; whose sympathy may be won upon even by the passing grief of happy childhood! Surely she will not forget the tears shed openly and in secret by her victim sister under the stinging lash, over the unaccomplished task at hot noon day, in the silence of the dark midnight, upon the faces of the doomed infants, and amid the silence of the gloomy prison cell, where though guiltless of crime she has been made to share the abode and the punishment of the criminal.

FEMALE PHILANTHROPY.

The Colonization Society has recently despatched a vessel to Liberia, with 107 colored

persons, 45 of whom were emancipated slaves. Eight of these were children and grand-children of the late Prince Abduhl Rahhman, who had been purchased by funds raised at the north. Nine were liberated by C. Bolton, Esq. of Savannah; twelve by Miss Blackburn, near Charleston, Va.; seven by Miss Vanmeter, Hardy Co. Va.; and seven others left free by a gentleman in Essex Co. Va. The husbands of two of those emancipated by Miss Blackburn, were purchased by her, to accompany their wives to the colony, at an expense of \$800. She was generously assisted with funds for this purpose by various persons, among whom were several Ladies residing in Washington and Alexandria, and in various places in Virginia. We are glad to perceive that our sister philanthropists in the District of Columbia and Virginia, have thus evinced a disposition to promote the good cause. May they continue their benevolent efforts, and not grow weary of well-doing in so righteous an undertaking.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EXCELLENT SENTIMENTS.

The following paragraphs are extracted from the second volume of a work entitled "*Resignation*," the production of a Lady, now residing in the city of Washington. How closely do the sentiments, here expressed, entwine with the best feelings of philanthropy!—Would that all, who have unfortunately become partakers in the crime of enslaving their fellow mortals, would turn their thoughts to the subject, and reason thus.—How rapidly should we then advance in the holy work of "breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free." All the difficulties anticipated, in promoting this great object, would vanish like the mists of night at the approach of the radiant orb of day, or the dark enchantments of the heathen necromancer before the resistless power of Gospel truth.

HANNAH.

"I hope you will," said Elizabeth; and the poor creatures, (after again receiving from Mr. Harlington an assurance, that, though he should no longer regard them as slaves, they might continue in his family,) retired with the most obvious exultation.

"Who will contend that beings so susceptible of gratitude and affection, are destitute of moral, of human sentiment? does not the example we have just wit-

nessed; and indeed does not the *general* conduct of our blacks, 'prove that this oppressed race might be hopeful subjects of culture, and even of religious instruction?'

"Slavery," replied Mr. Harlington, 'is a bitter ingredient in the cup of human suffering. It is particularly to be lamented that it is permitted to exist beneath a government like ours. One would think that the arm of oppression would wither beneath the eye of freedom; and the time, I trust, will come, when this hydra-evil will no longer constitute the burden, and the disgrace of our country. But it is sufficiently evident even now, that the state of these poor outcasts of liberty might be rendered comparatively eligible. Kind treatment would greatly tend to secure their good conduct, while at the same time it would render servitude endurable, at least, if not comfortable.

"There is, I think, no doubt," said Elizabeth, 'that as Christianity extends its mild dominion, the dreadful evil of oppression will yield to its benign influence.—How glorious will be the day when the great human family will be united in one indissoluble bond of brotherhood!—when every heart will submit to the kind and righteous sceptre of Him whose name is Love!—when the various tribes of man, in that subjection which is liberty, shall bow to the "Prince of peace;" and when the universal extension of God's kingdom will prove the harbinger, and the security, of universal freedom and happiness!

"My dear uncle," said Elizabeth, (endeavoring to change the subject as far as respected herself,) 'liberated all his slaves; and they have never abused their freedom,—indeed their conduct has always proved them capable of the most devoted gratitude and affection.'

"I ardently wish that all slave holders would be induced to venture the effect of kindness," said Mr. Percy. 'They would, I verily believe, realize advantage from such an experiment, were they actuated simply by selfish considerations. The oppressed race, writhing beneath the tortures of bondage, in this boasted land of freedom, have human hearts, susceptible of grateful feeling; and could the principle of affection be once awakened,—of what incalculable efficacy would that living principle be found!—To be loved, instead of hated, by these

degraded individuals of our community;—to see them look on us as their friends, and bless instead of cursing us.—O! if we have indeed the hearts of Freemen, we must abhor oppression, especially in this, its direst form.'

"My soul would rejoice at the emancipation of these unhappy beings," said Ellen. 'May we not trust, my father, that there will be a time when every slave in our land will be released from his cruel thralldom?'

"It is, my dear," replied Mr. Percy, 'devoutly to be hoped, that a season will arrive when this blot upon the fair face of our country will be effaced;—when this anathema on her glory and her beauty will be removed. But at present, a general release of the slaves would be, perhaps, extremely dangerous.—The cruelty of their oppressors has given ferocity to their nature. The barbarous ignorance in which they have been kept has tended to destroy in their hearts man's intuitive sense of moral obligation. To give them freedom, therefore, in their present state of feeling, would be to let loose, as it were, a herd of wolves, gaunt, and fiercely panting for their prey. Slavery may now, at least for a little while to come, be viewed as a necessary evil. The good conduct of Mr. Harlington's blacks may be attributed to the kindness uniformly manifested towards them while they were slaves. But I assuredly believe, that should a humane course be generally adopted,—should these oppressed beings be from this time instructed in those principles essential to their civilization, and to their happiness as immortal beings, the hideous aspect of slavery would soon change. The evil would become but a nominal one. The melioration of their state would make them feel that they were members of the human family. They would soon attach themselves to the interest of their masters. Increasing knowledge would yield increasing enjoyment; and hatred, and tears, and blood, would give place to affection, to smiles, and to the delightful and ennobling sensibilities of the heart.'

"I doubt it not," said Onsville. 'This happy change, though gradual, would I believe be certain.—But my dear Sir, admitting that the emancipation of slaves in our land would at present be productive of evil, yet surely we need not *promote* the disgraceful and criminal practice of holding in bondage our fellowmen. Sure-

ly we might prevent the *extension* of this dreadful usage. For instance, should new states be formed, and added to our confederation, could not laws be passed, prohibiting, in such states, the existence of slavery?"

"Unquestionably," replied Mr. Percy, "and it is my deliberate opinion, that our government is solemnly bound, by every obligation divine and human, to arrest, by the utmost exertions, the progress of an evil which entails misery on thousands and thousands of our race: and which, when we tell of our freedom and happy country, gives us the lie! the word *freedom*, in a land where slavery is tolerated, is perfect mockery! The term Liberty, on the lips of the oppressor, is like the language of heaven on the tongue of impiety.—O! it is indeed a "horror of great darkness," which, in this dire evil, has stolen over our character as a virtuous, an enlightened, and a *free* people."

THE BECHUANA BOY.

(Concluded.)

"My mother's scream so long and shrill,
My little sister's wailing cry,
(In dreams I often hear them still!)
Rose wildly to the sky.
A tiger's heart came to me then,
And madly 'mong those ruthless men
I sprang!—Alas! dashed on the sand,
Bleeding, they bound me foot and hand.

"Away—away on bounding steeds
The white man-stealers fleetly go,
Through long low valleys, fringed with reeds,
O'er mountains capped with snow,—
Each with his captive, far and fast;
Until yon rock-bound ridge was passed,
And distant stripes of cultured soil
Bespoke the land of tears and toil.

'And tears and toil have been my lot
Since I the white man's thrall became,
And sorer griefs I wish forgot—
Harsh blows and burning shame.
Oh, English chief! thou ne'er canst know
The injured bondman's bitter woe,
When round his heart, like scorpions, cling
Black thoughts that madden while they sting!

"Yet this hard fate I might have borne,
And taught in time my soul to bend,
Had my sad yearning breast forlorn
But found a single friend:
My race extinct, or far removed,
The boor's rough brood I could have loved—
But each to whom my bosom turned,
'Even like a hound the black boy spurned!

'While, friendless thus, my master's flocks
I tended on the upland waste,
It chanced this fawn leapt from the rocks,
By wolfish wild-dogs chased:
I rescued it, though wounded sore,
All dabbled with its mother's gore,

And nursed it in a cavern wild,
Until it loved me like a child.

"Gently I nursed it—for I thought
(Its hapless fate so like to mine)
By good *Utika* it was brought,
To bid me not repine—
Since, in this world of wrong and ill,
One creature lived to love me still,
Although its dark and dazzling eye
Beamed not with human sympathy.

"Thus lived I, a lone orphan lad,
My task the proud boor's flocks to tend;
And this pet fawn was all I had
To love, or call my friend;
When, suddenly, with haughty look
And taunting words, the tyrant took
My playmate for his pampered boy,
Who envied me my only joy.

"High swelled my heart!—but, when the star
Of midnight gleamed, I softly led
My bounding favourite forth, and far
Into the desert fled.
And there from human kind exiled,
Four moons on roots and berries wild
I've fared—and braved the beasts of prey,
To 'scape from spoilers worse than they.

"But yester morn a Bushman brought
The tidings that thy tents were here—
And now rejoicingly I've sought
Thy presence—void of fear;
Because they say, O English chief,
Thou scornest not the captive's grief:
Then let me serve thee—as thine own—
For I am in the world alone!"

Such was Marossi's touching tale,
Our breasts they were not made of stone—
His words, his winning looks prevail—
We took him for "our own:"
And one, with woman's gentle art,
Unlocked the fountain of his heart,
And love gushed forth, till he became
Her *child*—in every thing but name.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS.

Bergenaars—Mountaineers, a marauding horde, of Griqua or Mulatto lineage, inhabiting the skirts of the Stormberg mountains, beyond the north-eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. *Bushman*—a wild Hottentot. *Gareep*—native name of the great Orange river. *Springbok*—antelope, pygarga, or euchore. *Wild Dog*—*wilde hond* of the colonists—*hyæna vanatica*. *Sea Cow*, or *Zeekoe*—the colonial term for the hippopotamus. *Utika*—i. e. Beautiful—the Supreme Spirit.

SONNET ON SLAVERY.

By Robert Southey.

Why dost thou beat thy breast, and rend thine hair,
And to the deaf sea pour thy frantic cries?
Before the gale the laden vessel flies;
The heaven's all-favouring smile, the breeze, is fair;
Hark to the clamours of the exulting crew;
Hark how their thunders mock the patient skies!
Why dost thou shriek and strain thy red-swoln eyes,
As the white sail dim lessens from thy view?

Go, pine in want, and anguish, and despair,
There is no mercy found in human kind—
Go, Widow, to thy grave, and rest thee there!
But may the God of Justice bid the wind
Whelm that curst-barque beneath the mountain
wave,
And bless with Liberty and Death the slave!

SELECTIONS.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS,

To the Manumission Society of North Carolina,
met in General Convention.

FELLOW-MEMBERS—Again has the annual return of this day summoned us together as patriots devoted to the best of causes,—that of *Equal Rights*. Are we prepared for the discussion of such subjects as are necessarily involved in those extensive views of *Slavery* and *Emancipation*, that first united us as a Social Body? This is an inquiry important to be made. Let each and every member inquire of himself. We cannot be too circumspect in scrutinizing our own motives; especially, when we venture to call in question what many of our countrymen affect to think *their own* peculiar concern, not *ours*. Is it nothing to us, that SEVENTEEN HUNDRED THOUSAND of the people of our country are doomed *illegally* to the most abject and vile *Slavery* that ever was tolerated on the face of the Earth? Is it a matter of no consequence to us, that this wretchedness of condition, this miserably degraded situation of so large a portion of our population, is rapidly hastening us all into the frightful vortex of one common and awful ruin? Time after time, have we pointed to these things. Again and again, have we shown the absolute necessity, and not only the necessity, but likewise the practicability of reformation. Are Carolinians deaf to the piercing cries of humanity? Are they insensible to the demands of justice? Deplorable, indeed, is the state of a people, given over to a hard heart and a reprobate mind, passing on, filling up the measure of their iniquity, while divine vengeance is bending his bow, and aiming well the arrows of retributive justice. Are we not too patient? are we not too forbearing? Let any man of spirit and feeling, for a moment, cast his thoughts over this land of *Slavery*, think of the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others, the flowing tears, the heaving sighs of parting relations, the wailings, the groanings of lamentation and woe, the bloody cut of the keen lash, and the frightful scream

that rends the very skies;—all this, to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice, vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart: think of these things, and you must be something more or less than rational men if you can suppress a momentary resentment, and stifle effectually the spontaneous fires of blazing indignation. Too long has our country been unfortunately lulled to sleep, reposing on a kind of fancied security that is only imaginary, feeding on the golden dreams of superficial and visionary politicians, fanciful poets, and anniversary orations. Let all the truth be told, and that without disguise. The worst is not generally known. Were all the miseries, all the horrors of *Slavery* at once to burst into view, a peal of seven-fold thunder could scarce strike a greater alarm. Yet there is a glimmering sunbeam of hope, a ray of consolation, that bids us persevere. We cannot yet believe the condition of our country so desperate as to forbid the judicious application of proper remedies. Surely our fellow citizens will not much longer suffer so righteous a cause to linger on the way, for want of enterprising advocates. Although many of us, and perhaps all that are now present, may, and probably will, lie low in the dust ere the time come: yet we are well aware that *Emancipation* will take place. Should it be brought about in the manner we desire, every one hopes to see it. What a desperate reflection it would be, to one of us now present, to anticipate with certainty, the close of life, before he be permitted to see one of the days of universal liberty. We cannot therefore be too prompt in our obedience to the divine admonition, "Work while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work."

It is believed best to address you with as much brevity as possible. I have no new measures to recommend at present. It is probable, however, that many may be suggested in the course of your deliberations.

As the *legality* of slave holding and slave driving begins to undergo some scrutiny, and is at all times open to investigation, I feel it my duty to present to your notice, the late *case* of William Lloyd Garrison, tried in Baltimore City Court, in May last. It is of the highest importance that the *liberty of the press* should be understood, and duly appreciated. I therefore consider it advisable

for this General Association to consider duly this *Query*.—Was the publication for which William L. Garrison was indicted and convicted, a *Libel* on Francis Todd? or put the Question into any form that will determine whether Mr. Garrison did, by the publication, go beyond the privilege guaranteed by the liberty of the press. The case is no doubt familiar to the most of you. The facts as they have been published are contained in the file marked (A.) herewith submitted for your examination.

Respectfully I remain your fellow member,
B. SWAIM.

New-Garden, Sept. 10th, 1830.

The following impromptu, on the conduct of the authorities of the United States and Georgia, relative to the Indians; &c. is from the Boston Patriot. It will bear reading *more than once*.

"We are an abused people. If we can receive no redress, we can feel deeply the injustice done to our rights

Cherokee Phoenix.

Oh, point at such baseness the finger of shame,
Ye high-minded men of the land!—
Behold, how injustice dishonors your name,
From men you have raised to command.

These Indians have lands which the white man desires,
And the white man to gain them has power;
And, forgetting the noble renown of his sires,
His victim he hastes to devour.

And see the poor Cherokee, fainting and sad,
As the home of his father he leaves;
Where erst pleasing hope made his bosom so glad;
At the prospect forlorn how he grieves!

And what is his voice to the listening world?
"Americans liberty prize—
But the Negro and Indian, to wretchedness hurled
Proclaim this great truth to men's eyes.

That their freedom is license—their power devote
To such ends as but gratify self—
And their efforts are tending alone to promote
The attainment of low, sordid pelf!"

Oh blush for your country, ye men who can feel
What humanity claims for the brave;
Nor think, vainly think, to establish its weal
While you crush the poor Indian and Slave.
TELL.

From the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter.

DISLOYAL SPIRIT OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY.

In a debate, which occurred in the Assembly of Jamaica, in the month of December last, on the subject of a dispute, which has arisen between them and the Secretary of State, respecting certain custom-house regulations, the

most violent language was employed by some of the speakers, who even went so far as to threaten a disruption of their ties with Great Britain, intimating their persuasion that the United States of America would gladly take Jamaica under their protection. The Editor of the *Watchman*, (the paper of the people of color,) in commenting on this line of argument, thus vehemently expresses himself:

"We can tell Mr. Barret, and every contumacious Member of the House of Assembly, that if America had ten times the population she possesses, she would find herself incapable of wresting this or any other of the colonies from the mighty grasp of the parent state." "Jamaica would rise in mass." "Before the tocsin of war is sounded, the House of Assembly would do well to commence the system of exterminating the colored population, who are loyal to a man."

"Is the Assembly of Jamaica aware," he adds, "that if they dared to unfurl the flag of rebellion, every man of them would be hanged in twenty-four hours, without reference to judge or jury? England has a standing army in her loyal and devoted subjects of Jamaica, so that the puny threat of a seditious Assembly, excites only a return of ridicule and contempt."

LOOK AT THIS, AMERICANS!!

The following is copied from a late Philadelphia paper:

NOTICE

To Captains of Vessels trading to Austrian Ports.

As the trade of this country with Austria is constantly increasing, I consider it my duty to publish an extract of the Imperial and Royal Ordinance of the 25th of June, 1826, for the government of such American captains as intend to visit any Austrian port, and who may have any slaves on board.

Extract of the Ordinance of His Imperial and Royal Majesty of Austria, dated 25th June, 1826.

"In order to prevent Austrian subjects and vessels from participating in any manner in the Slave Trade, and in order to protect slaves from bad treatment, His I. and R. Majesty in conformity with the existing laws of Austria (viz. section 16 of the Civil Code, which determines that every human being, in virtue of those rights which are recognized by *reason*, is to be considered a civil person, and that therefore slavery, and every exercise of power relative to the state of slavery, are not tolerated in the Imperial and Royal dominions;) and further, in conformity with section 78 of 1st part of the Penal Code, which declares every hindrance of the exercise of personal liberty a crime of public violence (*delitto della pubblica violenza*)—has been graciously pleased by his sovereign

resolution of 25th June, 1826, to determine and order as follows:—

"Art I. Any slave from the moment he treads on the soil of the Imperial and Royal dominions of Austria, or even merely steps on board of an Austrian vessel, shall be free."

Austrian Consulate General,

N. York, 18th Oct. 1830. L. LEDERER.

What means all this! Shall *monarchists* thus tantalize us with their high-toned *republican decrees*—throwing in our very faces the mirror that reflects our hypocrisy and "Democratic" despotism? Shame, shame to us! Let us call upon the "mountains and rocks," or any thing else under heaven, to hide us from the scorn of an indignant world!!!

A SAUCY FELLOW.

Not long since, a gentleman from Kentucky was standing at the door of one of our hotels, whence he was about starting for the steamboat. Wishing for some one to carry his baggage, and seeing a spruce looking negro passing along the street, he called out to him—Here, you Nig, take my trunk and carry it down to the boat.

The negro stopped and raising his quizzing glass to his eye, stared at the Kentuckian with a mixture of indignation and astonishment. Having scanned him sufficiently with his glass, he gave him hat an independent twist to one side, pulled up his dickey about his ears, drew himself up to his fullest height, and thus replied—"Did you 'dress that language to me, sir?"

"Yes, you black rascal; I want you to take my trunk to the steamboat."

"Indeed! I guess you came from the slave holdin states, didn't you, if I may take the liberty to ax?"

"Ay, you black dog—and what if I did? You take too much liberty, I can tell you."

"Why I was sure you must have come from the slave states, otherwise you wouldn't treat a gentleman in this *supersilly* manner, just because his skin isn't of the same color of your own."

"Shut up your thick lips, or I'll stick my fists down your throat."

"We don't have any *gag* laws in this state."

"Well, you ought to have, to stop the mouths of such saucy black rascals as you are. I wish I had you in Kentucky once."

"I spose you'd *gouge* me then. But thank heaven, I'm not in Kentucky, and not a slave neither. And what's more, I undertake to tell you, Mr. *Impotence*, that there's no gouging nor gagging in this free state, and one man is as much

inspected as another, if he behaves as well, although he is a black man, or a Nig, as you call him. Behaviour makes the man, sir. For my part, I should be ashamed to show my face 'mong other gentlemen, if I 'dressed a man in the *supersilly* manner you did me."

Having finished his speech, the dark colored beau again raised his quizzing glass to his eye, and giving his antagonist a look of ineffable disdain, walked on; while the Kentuckian, almost doubting his senses, wondered what sort of republican principle that must be which gives a black man as much liberty as a white one.—*N. Y. Constellation.*

A petition is now circulating in England to petition Parliament, which is to assemble on the 16th of October, for the total abolition of Slavery in the colonies.

EFFECT OF EDUCATION UPON SLAVES.

The Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society of England, which has instructed many thousands of slaves in the West Indies, assert that, for forty years, no slave in their societies had been either "a conspirator, a rebel, or insubordinate." Here is a most unanswerable testimony to the influence of religious instruction in promoting the personal security of masters.—*Zion's Adv.*

BLACK LIST

The following paragraph, from the "American Statesman," invites the attention of our lawgivers to a monstrous anomaly in the penal code of one of the States. Can it be possible that such a state of things will be much longer tolerated in this land of "freedom" and "equity?"

"*Elijah W. Kimbrough* and negro *Carey*, were executed at Raleigh, N. C. on the 5th instant; the first named for the crime of *murder*, and the latter for breaking into an *unoccupied kitchen* or *outhouse*, and robbing it of articles worth not more than *five dollars*!! Upon the disparity of offences for which these men suffered the severest penalty of the laws, the *Register* takes occasion to call the attention of the Legislature to a revision of the criminal code of that State. "Draco gave as a reason for his code, that *small crimes* deserved *death*, and he could find no severer punishment for the *greatest*!"

The Hagerstown "Herald" states that a man named Frederick A. Klouse, was recently tried in the Criminal Court of Washington county, Md. on a charge of Kidnapping. His trial had been removed to that place, from Alleghany county, in which the prisoner resided, and where the crime had been committed. It appears that he had inveigled a colored man, in his employ, belonging to a citizen of Virginia, and taken him to Louisville, (Ky.) and there sold him to some slave trader from Louisiana. "From his own confession, (says the Herald,) this was not the only villany he had been guilty of—he had once been a pirate on the high seas." He was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the penitentiary.

Here we have two versions (both coinciding remarkably well) of the system of operations on the coast of Africa, relative to the suppression of the Slave Trade. One is from an American, the other from a British paper. Will the legal authorities of both nations still shut their eyes to the glaring folly of depending on their present measures for the success of their efforts there? Are they yet unconvinced that *nothing, under heaven, but the DESTRUCTION OF THE SLAVE-MARKET, can possibly put an end to that traffic?* Until slavery shall be so far abolished throughout America, as that the demand for slaves shall measurably cease, this "trade" *will be carried on*, despite of all the colonies and naval armaments that will ever proceed to the coast of Africa, from the other three quarters of the globe.

"SLAVE TRADE.—Capt. Parker, of Schooner Harvey, at Philadelphia, 44 days from Liberia, reports that "the slave trade was carried on with increased activity. Three vessels of different sizes, and with the Spanish and French flags, were known to be engaged in this nefarious traffic at the various slave marts, from Trade Town to Galinez, an extent of coast not exceeding 200 miles. A Spanish brig and schr. sailed from Galinez for Cuba, 29th August, the former with 600, and the latter with 200. A small schooner belonging to the colony, with considerable ivory on board, had been blockaded in Cape Mount River, for some time prior to the departure of the Harvey, by a schr. under the Spanish flag."

"SLAVE TRADE.—This traffic is stated by Mr. Fisher, Surgeon of the British ship Athol, on the African station, to be carried on more briskly than usual. *Not one of the ships in ten concerned are taken!* The writer states that 6000 slaves are liberated annually by the British vessels. The whole number taken and carried off annually, is estimated by him at 50,000. The African chiefs and the priests cause all persons among the common people *who learn to read and write, to be put to death.*"

Lander, in his account of Clapperton's second expedition to Africa, mentions the following affecting appeal from a young negro girl to her mother, who had been tempted by the hellish arts of *christian professing* villains to sell her as a slave.

"The unhappy girl, who might have been about 13 or 14 years of age, on being dragged away from the threshold of her parents' hut, clung distractedly, like a shipwrecked mariner to a floating mast, round the knees of her unfeeling mother, and, looking up wistfully in her countenance, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming with vehemence and passion: "O mother! do not sell me; what will become of yourself in old age, if you suffer me to desert you? Who will fetch you corn and milk? Who will pity you when you die? Have I been unkind to you? O mother! do not sell your only daughter. I will take you in my arms when you are feeble, and carry you under the shade of trees. As a hen watches her chicken, so will I watch over you, my dear mother. I will repay the kindness you showed me in my infant years. When you are weary I will fan you to sleep; and whilst you are sleeping, I will drive away flies from you. I will attend on you when you are in pain; and when you die I will shed rivers of sorrow over your grave. O mother! my dear mother! do not push me away from you; do not sell your only daughter to be the slave of a stranger!"

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

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Correspondents, and the publishers of periodical works who exchange with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, are requested to direct their letters, communications and papers, in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TEN DOLLARS will be given, as a premium, over and above the market price, for *Five Casks of Fresh Rice*, of a good quality, raised by *Free labor*, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next.

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are, exclusively, the production of *free labor*.

He has met with great difficulty in procuring *Rice*, of this description, and (he authorizes me to state) is thus induced to offer the premium, as aforesaid.

Cannot some of our North Carolina friends furnish the article in question? The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the *Rice*, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

"FREEDOM OF THE PRESS."

At this enlightened era, when the whole civilized world is emerging from the gloom of despotism—when the mass of the people, in their sovereign capacity, are casting aside the veil of ignorance, and shaking in the faces of their oppressors the recently discovered manacles that have long bound them down to the footstool of tyranny—when the "Freedom of the Press" is considered almost synonymous with the *Freedom of Man*, and it is viewed as the very palladium of civil and political liberty—how surprising does it appear, at such a time, that some of the most intelligent, the most enlightened, and most free people in existence, shall be the foremost to extinguish that very lamp, whose beacon-fire has illumined their pathway, and led them on to their present exalted and enviable condition!

That this is a fact, I think is fully susceptible of demonstration; for in no other country, at the present day, where the principles of freedom have made any considerable progress, do we hear of such frequent and strenuous attempts to muzzle the Press, as in the United States. True, the Despots of Europe, who have long kept their

"subjects" in a state of ignorant vassalage by their tyrannical restrictions and cruel exactions, make bolder strides with the view of annihilating its potent influence; but, for this they are, one after another, paying the forfeit of their Crowns, and losing their influential stations;—and, indeed, it is matter of doubt whether some of them will not expiate their crimes upon the scaffold. It is admitted, on all hands, that the efforts of the late King of France, to stifle the voice of the Press, were mainly instrumental in rousing the resentment of the people, who wrenched the sceptre from his hand, and drove him into exile on a foreign shore.—And the fate of his ministers, (who were supposed to have been his prompters and advisers,) though not yet known, is likely to be of a still more retributive character. I had intended to have made a further statement, at this time, of the proceedings of the Court in Baltimore, relative to the Libel Suit, mentioned in the last number of this work. But as I have not yet been cited to appear before it, and have heard of no further proceedings in the case, I shall postpone it for the present. The foregoing general remarks are merely intended to invite the attention of the reader to a review of the principle involved in the question; and at another time I shall enter upon the subject more in detail. I will only add, now, that I am merely contending for the same privilege that the people of France lately demanded when they dethroned their monarch, and that the people of this country now claim, in the impeachment of a high Judicial functionary before the Senate of the United States.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

This very important question at present occupies the attention of thousands of the best and most patriotic citizens of the United States. It has a strong claim to the support—the active and persevering advocacy—of every true Republican in the nation. The subject has been fairly laid before Congress; and it will be pressed upon the attention of that body, from time to time. The business will be prosecuted to its consummation.

It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant, when the scandal, the shame and disgrace, that attaches to our government, on account of

the toleration of such a monstrous system as that of slavery and slave trading, within the limits of its exclusive jurisdiction, will be wiped away by a legal enactment. Surely, the people of the United States, who deprecate the existence of this inhuman system, (and they compose an immense majority of the citizens,) will not, at least, much longer bear the insults offered to their feelings, by the prosecution of the "*African Slave Trade*," within the environs of the Capital of the Republic, and the jeers, the scoffs, and solemn expressions of regret, which are frequently heard from the lips of intelligent foreigners, who frequently witness the scenes of outrage connected with it.

Even the great and good *Lafayette* has repeatedly expressed his mortification at the circumstance of the continuance of slavery among us, upon various occasions. In a private letter, to a friend in Pennsylvania, he uses the following very emphatic language:—

"I see, in the papers, that there is a plan of gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I would be doubly happy of it, for the measure in itself, and because a sense of American pride makes me recoil at the observations of the Diplomats, and other Foreigners, who gladly improve the unfortunate existing circumstance into a general objection to our republicanism, and (saying that deplorable evil) our matchless system."^{*}

But even independent of every consideration of this nature, sufficient cause exists for a determined and vigorous prosecution of this important undertaking. There is no doubt that a great majority of the inhabitants of the District anxiously desire the extinction of slavery; and could their voices be heard, they would, unquestionably, urge the speedy adoption of measures for the purpose. And when humanity, justice, religion, honor, consistency, and even the *vox populi* demand it, why do the constituted authorities still neglect it?

As I stated, at the commencement of this article, many are turning their attention to the subject; and though little or nothing will probably be effected by the present Congress, enough will be done by the people, to keep it alive until the next meeting of that body, when a great

effort will be made to accomplish the object.

Meetings have been recently held in various places for the purpose of concerting measures relative to the promotion of this undertaking; and, in some instances, resolutions have been adopted, expressive of the views of the members, and petitions to Congress prepared for circulation and signature. The proceedings of some of these meetings will be noticed hereafter. The form of a petition, as inserted below, is now circulating in Boston. It is copied from the "*Christian Register*," a Unitarian paper, of high standing, which urges this cause with zeal and ability. The "*Christian Mirror*," a highly valuable Presbyterian paper, at Portland, Maine, also joins the "*Register*" in calling the public attention to the subject, and expresses the hope that "there are thousands ready to put their names to such a petition." It is "glorious" to see the members of different religious Societies thus co-operating for the accomplishment of this sacred work. Let this spirit be fostered, and we shall soon perceive the most important effects resulting from it.

This subject will be resumed hereafter; and I shall endeavor to shew that it will be practicable to adopt a plan for the abolition of slavery in the District, with perfect ease and safety, and without the least danger or difficulty.

Petition to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, the petition of the undersigned, citizens of Boston, in Massachusetts, and its vicinity, respectfully represents—

That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the evils arising from the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia. They believe that the holding of slaves is not sanctioned either by justice or humanity. While our Declaration of Independence boldly proclaims, as self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—at the very seat of government, human beings are born almost daily, whom the laws pronounce to be, from their birth, not equal to other men, and who are, for life, deprived of liberty and the free pursuit of happiness. The inconsistency of the conduct of our nation, with its political creed, has brought down upon it the scorn and contempt of foreign nations.

In addition to the other evils flowing from slavery, both moral and political, which it is needless to specify, circumstances have rendered this District a common resort for traders in human flesh, who bring into it their captives in chains, and lodge them in places of confinement, previously to their being carried to the markets of the south and west.

From the small number of slaves in the District of Columbia, and the moderate proportion which they bear to the free population there, the

^{*} At another time, it is said he expressed a desire to have the reading of the "*National Intelligencer*," but observed that he could not brook the appearance of those engravings, representing little negroes with budgets on their backs. This was a cutting rebuke upon the editors of that paper, for publishing such advertisements; and it is to be regretted that they did not sufficiently profit by it, and thereafter refrain from disgracing their columns with them.

difficulties, which, in most of the slave-holding states, oppose the restoration of this degraded class of men to their natural rights, do not exist.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that Congress will, without delay, take such measures for the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for preventing the bringing of slaves into that District for purposes of traffic, in such mode, as may be thought advisable; venturing also to suggest, that whatever measures may be adopted, suitable provision should be made for the education of all free blacks and colored children in the District, thus to preserve them from continuing, even as freemen, an unenlightened and degraded caste.

NOT RESPONSIBLE.

What will a certain Methodist preacher, whose words were lately quoted, say to the following?—It is copied from a Southern newspaper.

"*Slavery*.—The Georgia Senate, by a vote of 38 to 30, have refused to repeal a law prohibiting the importation of slaves into that State."

Will it now be said that, "not upon us rests the guilt of its *continuance*!" Shall we (as Americans) now say that our hands are clear of the inhuman traffic?—that the slave is not torn from all the heart of man holds dear and oppressed and despoiled *by us*?—that we are not guilty, *awfully* guilty participators in the "deep damnation of his taking off?"

A QUERY.

Why do many Slave holders fly into a passion sooner, when they meet with reproof relative to Slavery, than upon any other occasion?—Ans. Because they *feel* themselves *guilty*—CONSCIENTIOUSLY GUILTY of acting MONSTROUSLY INCONSISTENT, and OUTRAGEOUSLY UNJUST.

GOOD CAUSE FOR ALARM!

The following, from the "Village Record," shews how Nature's retributive Law operates in Virginia:

"The census of New York is 1,954,496, not official—a gain of half a million in ten years.

Take the census of one county in Virginia—fertile—extensive—noble Virginia; and see what a melancholy contrast, ~~is~~ and the cause.

CENSUS OF ANELIA.

White males	1598
" females	1695—3293
Male slaves	3758
females "	3760—7518
Free colored males	103
" females	117—220
Total	11,031
Population in 1820	11,104

Decrease in 10 years 73

There are two persons who are deaf and dumb; one a white female between 14 and 25 years old, the other a slave under 14 years. The old-

est white person in this country is 95 years, and only one has arrived at that age—whilst there are eight negroes, three males and five females, whose ages exceed 100 years. Of the females one is supposed to be 120, and another is confidently believed by her master, who is a highly intelligent and respectable man, to be over 130 years old. The general health of the last mentioned old woman, is such as to enable her frequently to walk, unattended, one and a half miles to visit some of her descendants."

It is stated that, in the aggregate, the returns of the new census of Virginia, so far as received, shew that the whites are increasing in a considerable degree faster than the slaves, which never before has been the case. The free colored population, however, is gaining nearly threefold upon them; but this class composes but a small proportion of the total population, being to the whites as 1 to 16, and to the slaves as 1 to 12.

What will the Malthus's of the day (who assert that the free colored people are generally in a worse condition than the slaves) say to this? Even our friend Niles will be a little puzzled, no doubt, to reconcile this state of things with some of the views which he has taken of the subject. If I mistake not, both he and Mathew Carey have admitted that the free coloured population in Virginia and some other parts of our Southern country is, very generally, more dissipated and wretched than the slaves. But how will this idea accord with the disparity in the *increase* of the various classes? If any one can give a sufficient, or even a plausible explanation, either of these gentlemen are capable; and it would be gratifying at least to *one* who feels interested in the cause, if it were done.

EXTENUATION OF THE CRIME OF SLAVERY.

In an address to the citizens of Brooklyn, Mr. Finley, agent of the Colonization Society, remarked as follows:—

"Eleven times did the colonial Assembly of Georgia pass *Acts* to prohibit the importation of slaves into that colony, but as often did the British king exercise the prerogative of his *veto* to annul and thereby defeat the provisions of those *Acts*—and when the philanthropic and patriot Oglethorpe then Governor of the colony, still persevered in endeavoring to obtain a removal of that pernicious system and crying evil from his people, his persevering efforts in the cause of humanity and his zeal for the best interests of his government, was visited upon him by the chastisement of removal from office.

"Nor did the introduction of the system find greater favor among the early settlers of Virginia. Her most distinguished patriots and statesmen foresaw the evil and deprecated the consequences, which, (as necessarily as effects flow from their legitimate causes) would inevitably follow in the hateful train of slavery."

And it is a fact that the system of slavery, imposed by the government of Great Britain, and the repeated refusal of her monarch, to remove the evil, or abate the nuisance, formed a prominent item in the list of injuries enumerated in one of the drafts of the Declaration of Independence. Hence it appears, the existence of slavery and its concomitant evils among our brethren of the south, has been entailed upon them by the acts of a *government*, which at the time they had not the power to resist, and that they are entitled to the sympathy and kindly feelings of their fellow citizens in other more favored sections of our country, which are exempted from the evils and dangers of slavery, inasmuch as their situation is in a great measure the result of the cupidity and the crimes of others, rather than their own.

"If it be asked, why then do not those states, and all others where the system exists, unite, and at once rid themselves of the evil, by the enactment of laws providing for the *immediate and entire abolition* of slavery among them? To this inquiry the answer is obvious—"the remedy would be worse than the disease"—the manifest wrong which such a measure would be to the *masters*, would only be equalled by the misery and wretchedness which it would certainly entail on the great body of nearly two millions of slaves in those States.—There are certain evils existing in the *body politic*—like some of those which afflict our *physical constitution*, which cannot be suddenly and violently eradicated, without imminent danger of producing convulsive anarchy in the one, or immediate dissolution in the other."

The object of the speaker, in this case, was to shew that as slavery was introduced into some of the southern colonies against the wishes of their Governors and local Legislatures, the present holders of slaves and the State authorities, are not to be considered blameable for continuing the system.

Now what does all this *special pleading* amount to? We might just as well say that the pirates, who yet lurk among the islands in the West Indian seas, are blameless, because the system of marauding was introduced by the buccaneers, a century or two ago. No one censures the present inhabitants of the Slave States for *introducing* the curse of slavery. But for its *perpetuation*, they are highly culpable;—as, notwithstanding the popular doctrine of necessity, among the Slave holders and some others, **IT MIGHT BE GRADUALLY ABOLISHED WITHOUT THE LEAST DANGER.** It has already been *proven*, in various parts of the American continent and islands, that the colored race, so long held in bondage, *may be introduced to freedom with little difficulty and with perfect safety.* The man must be ignorant, indeed, at this time of day, who has studied the history of America, generally, and is not sensible of this fact. My very soul is sick of the mawkish arguments which many of our professed philanthropists are in the habit of using. Why, in the *name of common sense*, did not the authorities

of Georgia, &c. make the needful regulations for abolishing the system of slavery, when the power of Britain was broken? Why do not they *now* set about the work, in good earnest, and *adopt a system of tenantry*, or some other gradual process, for the termination of that "supreme curse," ere the numerical strength of the oppressed shall set their laws at defiance? It might be done with ease, if a willingness were manifested.

I will take leave of this subject for the present, with observing, that I am astonished at the deliberate manner in which some of our high professing philanthropists extenuate the *crime* of continuing the system of slavery. That it is owing to a want of reflection, I will admit;—but even this is insufficient to hold them excusable.

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I find myself so much in want of room, at present, that I can scarcely notice the exceptionable article in the Christian Spectator, as promised in my last. An extract from it is here inserted; and next month I hope to have a little more space to give my views of it. In the mean time the readers of this work will have an opportunity of criticising it for themselves. It is true, that the writer condemns the system of slavery, in the abstract. But the propositions, here set forth, stand sufficiently disconnected with others, to be viewed by themselves.

"In regard to slavery, many things are to be considered, which the friends of universal liberty are prone to overlook. Distinct ideas on this subject would save much angry feeling in all quarters of the country. We are not aware that our views on this subject differ at all from those of all intelligent men around us, and yet when we read the angry defences of slavery uttered in the halls of Congress, or published in the Southern Journals, we yield a ready assent to very many of the arguments, strongly as we dissent from the style in which they are ordinarily expressed. Some of the obvious principles by which our judgment is regulated, are the following:

1. For the *existence* of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society. The men who brought the kidnapped wretches from the shores of Africa, the men who bought the victims, the legislators who permitted and encouraged such a traffic—they must account to God for those crimes, and for the natural results of those crimes, through all generations.

2. The bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. It recognizes, both in the Old Testament, and in the New, the existence of such a constitution of society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution. Its language is, "Slaves obey your masters," and, "Masters give unto your slaves that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

There is neither chapter nor verse of holy writ, which lends any countenance to the fulminating spirit of universal emancipation, of which some exhibitions may be seen in some of the newspapers.*

3. Domestic slavery, in the light of the scriptures, and in the light of common sense, is justifiable to the same extent, and on exactly the same principles, with despotism on a larger scale. The right and the wrong of both is materially, perhaps we should say precisely, the same. The emperor of China has one hundred and fifty millions of slaves, on a plantation of about thirteen hundred thousand square miles. The autocrat of Russia has fifty millions of slaves, on an immense plantation, as yet very little improved. The sultan of Turkey has a fine old estate, with probably twenty millions of slaves; but, owing partly to bad management, and partly to the inherent evils of the slave system, the estate, like some of the best on our own side of the Atlantic, has gone to decay and is almost ruined, while the high spirited proprietor is railing, for aught we know, at the tariff. A southern planter is an autocrat, with an empire of perhaps three hundred subjects. The cases are all parallel. What is the duty of the emperor of Russia towards his fifty millions of slaves? Is it his crime, that they are his slaves? He did not make them such. In the providence of God, he and they came into existence, under such a constitution of society as creates a relation between him and them altogether independent of his consent or theirs; a relation which common sense recognizes, and which the bible recognizes; and the question is, In this relation what is his duty toward them, and theirs toward him?"

MORE COADJUTORS.

It is with pleasure that I insert the following extracts from a prospectus for a new publication, about to be issued, weekly, at Philadelphia and New York, alternately. The work is to be entitled the "*Herald of Truth*," and will be under the editorial control of Marcus T. C. Gould, No. 6, North Eighth Street, Philadelphia; and Isaac T. Hopper, No. 420, Pearl Street, New York.

These gentlemen are both able and zealous advocates of Universal Emancipation. They will have it in their power to aid the cause very essentially; and it is to be hoped that they will meet with all the encouragement that may be necessary to enable them to prosecute their labors successfully.

An excellent work, entitled the "*African Observer*," was established in Philadelphia, a few

* We know of no "Northern" newspaper liable to this censure, generally; though instances of thoughtless violence in language might, no doubt, be easily hunted up. There is, however, farther South, a journal devoted to universal emancipation, with which we confess ourselves unsatisfied. The philanthropic feeling of the editor we cannot call in question; but the spirit of denunciation which breathes over his pages, we approve as little as we do the pugnacity of Gen. Hayne and others in the capitol.

years since, under the direction of Enoch Lewis. It was devoted, exclusively, to the subject expressed in its title. But after struggling one year against the apathy of the public mind; and failing to obtain an adequate support, it was discontinued. It is to be hoped that the "*Herald of Truth*" will meet a better fate.

"The period when the United States assumed a rank among the independent nations of the earth, and promulgated the doctrine that all men are born free and equal, was an important era in the history of man. The freedom of the press—the uncontrolled exercise of the rights of self-government—the privilege of pursuing, unmolested and untrammelled by the hand of power, the means of promoting individual happiness—and an exemption from an ecclesiastical establishment, guaranteed to us by our institutions and our laws, are circumstances favorable to the expansion of the intellectual powers, and the development of native talent.

That freedom of speech and independence of thought, which characterize the citizens of these States, has given a new impulse to the human mind, and thrown new light on the destinies of man. The example has spread far and wide, and extended a consciousness and a knowledge of natural rights in the eastern hemisphere. The progress of improvement of the human mind can no longer be arrested by the hand of violence; but must progress, if we are true to ourselves, with a pace as sure as time, till every kind or degree of despotism is annihilated, and dictation and intolerance are banished from society."

"The wrongs of Africa," and the best means of mitigating the evils of slavery, will frequently claim our attention. The contemplation of this subject is calculated to arouse every humane and generous feeling of our nature into activity. The apathy which seems to prevail on this subject, is not so much owing to the absence of a general abhorrence of the system, as to the little attention of a practical nature, bestowed upon it by the periodicals of the day. Even our representatives in the national and state legislatures, approach it with "fear and trembling." And for this extreme caution in touching "the delicate question," two reasons may be assigned. The magnitude of the evil, which tends to paralyze the energies of man, when directed to its mitigation or removal: and an unwillingness to excite that feverish and morbid sensibility which exists among the holders of slaves. But we think it possible to convince even candid slave holders, that those who have the deepest abhorrence of slavery, are among their truest friends.

The propriety of abstaining from the use of the products of slave labour, as one of the most efficient means of discouraging slavery, and a comparative estimate of the cost of slave labour, will be included in our investigation of the question of slavery."

PETITIONS, PETITIONS!

Late English papers state, that at *no former period* were the tables of Parliament so loaded with petitions, as they now are, from various parts of the kingdom, *for the abolition of slavery*

in the colonies. This has been found an efficacious mode of proceeding, at other times, and they are resolved to give it full latitude now.

"THE LIBERATOR."

Just as this paper was going to Press, I received the first Number of "THE LIBERATOR," published at Boston, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp. Next month I shall notice it further. At present, I can only say, it is a weekly paper, principally devoted to the cause of *African Emancipation*.—It is neatly executed; and, as might be expected, a warm, "enthusiastic" advocate of the total, immediate, abolition of slavery. Let every one subscribe for it that can spare *two dollars a year*.

Subscriptions will be received at the offices of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, in Washington and Baltimore.

CORRESPONDENCE.

It is gratifying and encouraging, amid the continued opposition and fiery persecution that I have witnessed, to receive assurances of the aid and co-operation of the friends of our cause. My heart is not made of the softest materials, neither is it composed of Adamant.—Though scarcely malleable, it might be reduced by intense fusion, were no assistance given to quench the flame that operates upon it.

The following extracts of letters, from two distant correspondents, are, indeed, cheering. The sentiments they convey are invaluable. The pecuniary aid is also gratefully received. But I wish it distinctly understood, that I cannot, consistently with my views, receive any thing in the way of *donation*, without doing something, in addition to my usual labors, equivalent to it. For every thing contributed in this way, I shall send the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, or other Anti-Slavery publications, to places where they will answer a good purpose, to at least the full amount of the sum tendered. My thanks, however, are as sincerely given for such benefactions, as tho' they were applied to my own private use.

Extract of a Letter, dated December 16th, 1830.

"Sir: The cause in which you are engaged deserves the sympathies and aid of every man, in whose heart one feeling of philanthropy, or one wish for the happiness of our country, dwells.

With my earnest desires for your success, and that the object you have in view may one day be accomplished, I send you the amount of one year's subscription for the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," wishing it were in my power to aid you far more effectually."

Extract of another Letter, dated 12th mo. 18th 1830.

"I duly received thy favor of August 23d,

and notice its contents, and imparted to my father thy acknowledgment for his trifling donation. My present object is to transmit a similar donation from a different source—the voluntary contribution of several colored individuals, as per the names attached to the enclosed paper,* with a statement of the motives which prompted them to the act. This generosity is creditable to them."

The following is an extract of a Letter from a friend in Philadelphia, dated Nov. 4th, 1830. It should have appeared in the last number of this work; but was inadvertently omitted.

Since the reception of that letter another very interesting one has been received from the same writer, giving an account of further proceedings at a subsequent meeting, held on the evening of the 20th of December. The matter for this number was principally in type before the reception of the last mentioned communication, but it shall be inserted next month. The writer has my thanks for his favors; and hereafter, I trust, he will not have occasion to complain of a want of prompt attention, should he be so kind as to continue them.

"The present is quite an interesting time among the coloured persons in our city. The particulars of their late Convention I find recorded in your last number of the *Genius*. The proceedings of the Free Produce Society, and the Female Association for promoting the use of Free Cotton, you are from time to time apprised of. At the last meeting of the former a committee was appointed to consider and adopt the best method of interesting the colored people in giving the preference to free produce. The committee, after duly considering the subject, concluded to have a conference with a select number of the most influential among them, and, accordingly, about twenty of them assembled conjointly with the committee. After making known the objects of the meeting, the committee proceeded to lay before them such documents relating to the organization and proceedings of the Free Produce Society as they thought would interest them, and also show the advancement of the cause since the formation of the Society, and the very flattering prospects for the future. It was truly pleasant to observe the attention manifested by them upon the occasion. Some samples of Groceries, the produce of free labor, were exhibited; and the views of an individual, invited to attend with them, whose whole soul has for years been engaged in endeavoring to introduce measures for the suppression of slavery, this curse upon our land of freedom and equal rights, were expressed with a clearness and energy which added greatly to the interest of the occasion. The colored per-

*The paper, here alluded to, contained the reasons of the donors for their generous offer. The article is too complimentary for me to copy. They will accept my thanks for their good opinion, and their beneficence; and they may rest assured that, while life lasts, I shall unceasingly endeavor to promote, by every honorable and *peaceful* means, the great cause in which I am engaged. I am fully sensible that my humble labors can accomplish but little, in comparison with what justice requires:—but the little that I can do, shall be done cheerfully.—Ed.

sons requested that there should be a general meeting of their brethren convened, and these same documents and views laid before them. Accordingly committees on both sides were appointed to make the necessary preparations, and a person selected to prepare a short preliminary address for the occasion. The meeting will probably take place next week, after which I will give you further particulars.

There have also lately been two schools established for the gratuitous instruction of colored adults, of both sexes, the one under the care of an association of young men, and the other, of young women. They have been established about five weeks, and there are upwards of an hundred scholars in each. The assiduity and attention of the scholars encourage the belief that good will result from these institutions, inasmuch as the improvement of the mind and the expansion of the intellect are calculated to make us wiser and happier. It is an interesting employment for those engaged in it; and it is to be hoped that their exertions on behalf of the poor, neglected, and despised sons of Africa will result in the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the race. The schools are conducted solely by the members of the Associations, who take turns of three weeks in the male school, and four weeks in the female school, each. The young men's association consists of about twenty-three members, and the young women's of about thirty.—So that in this, like most other benevolent institutions, the females show themselves the most zealous. But benevolence is a leading feature in the female character."

The writer concludes his second letter with the following additional information:—

"On the evening of the 27th inst. [December,] the *Colored Women* also held a meeting, with the view of organizing an association similar to that formed by the men. About 600 were present; and of that number *two hundred and sixty* had their names attached to the Constitution, which had been prepared for the purpose."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

(Concluded.)

There can be no doubt that the writings, and various labors, of this extraordinary man, had a powerful effect in rousing the spirits of Clarkson and his famous co-adjutors, in behalf of the oppressed Africans. But I must very briefly notice a few more incidents in his philanthropic career, as my limits will not suffer me to enter into detail. His biographer is again quoted.—

"With the progress of life, his zeal and assiduity for effecting the abolition of the slave trade, increased: no exertion was too great, nor any service too minute for him to undertake, if he supposed it might help onward the righteous march of justice and mercy. Consequently it was characteristic, if one day he were seen surrounded by the sable children of Africa, imparting advice, and deriving information from them concerning the cruelties they had suffered, and the next engaged in composing essays on the subject; addressing letters to friends and strangers, from whom he hoped some aid could be obtained; or with an innocent boldness worthy

of his office, spreading the cause of the poor negro in the language of warning and persuasion, before statesmen and sovereigns."

He wrote many letters to men of distinction in Europe, as well as America. The following is an extract of one to the Abbe Raynal, dated '*Seventh Mo. 16th, 1781.*'

"Let us display to princes, and the rulers of nations, the example of Numa Pompilius, who, by a conduct opposite to that of Romulus, his predecessor, and most of his successors, rendered the Romans, during his long reign, so respectable and happy. Above all, my dear friend, let us represent to our compatriots the abominable iniquity of the Guinea trade. Let us put to the blush the pretended disciples of the benign Saviour of the world, for the encouragement given to the unhappy Africans in invading the liberty of her own brethren. Let us rise, and rise with energy, against the corruption introduced into the principles and manners of the masters and owners of slaves, by a conduct so contrary to humanity, reason, and religion. Let us be still more vehement in representing its baneful influence on the principles and manners of their wretched offspring, necessarily educated in idleness, pride, and all the vices to which human nature is liable."

The answer to this was highly satisfactory, shewing that the enlightened views of the writer were duly appreciated by the renowned Abbe.

"He made a communication on the subject of the slave trade to the queens of France and Portugal, and likewise to the countess of Huntingdon. The latter having founded a college for the education of indigent orphans near Savannah, in Georgia, the managers of it employed slaves for the cultivation of the lands, with which she had liberally endowed the institution. His appeal to that benevolent female was successful, for the countess assured him, in reply to his address, *that such a measure should never have her countenance, and that she would take care to prevent it.*"

It appears that one of his books fell into the hands of the celebrated Virginia orator and statesman, Patrick Henry. It made a powerful impression upon his mind, as appears from the following letter, written by him, to a friend, dated:

"HANOVER, January 18, 1773.

"Dear Sir: I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the slave trade: I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising, that the professors of christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong. What adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times, that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in the arts and sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country, above all others, fond of liberty; that in such an age, and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most

humane, mild, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the bible, and destructive to liberty? every thinking, honest man rejects it in speculation. How few in practice, from conscientious motives!

"Would any one believe that I am master of slaves, of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them.

"*I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil.* Every thing we can do, is to improve it, if it happens in our day, if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthest advance we can make towards justice. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law, which warrants slavery.

I knew not where to stop. I could say many things on the subject; a serious view of which, gives a gloomy perspective to future times!"

Many things are omitted, in this hasty sketch, which the biographer has noticed. The following quotation shows that he was the main instrument in forming a society, in Philadelphia, for the protection of the colored race. This society has been instrumental in rescuing from the grasp of the unprincipled kidnapper many an hapless African, as well as the descendants of Africans. It still continues its useful labors, and exercises a powerful and salutary influence in preparing the public mind for the total abolition of slavery in the western hemisphere. The good that it has effected since its organization, is very encouraging to those who are endeavoring to form similar associations elsewhere.

"During the sitting of the Legislature in 1780, a session memorable for the enactment of a law which commenced the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, he had private interviews on the subject, with every member of the government, and no doubt thus essentially contributed to the adoption of that celebrated measure.

His agency in arresting a number of kidnapped black people on their passage from New Jersey through Philadelphia, toward one of the southern states, and whose claim to freedom by his perseverance was ultimately established, gave rise to a society for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, since incorporated with ample authority, and over the deliberations of which have successively presided Dr. Benjamin Franklin, James Pemberton, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and Dr. Caspar Wistar."

The following anecdote, related of him, is truly characteristic.

"Having lived during that interesting period, when the religious community to which he belonged was occupied with those considerations which led to its purification from the ini-

quity of slavery, he took an active part in promoting that righteous work. His ardent and pathetic communications on this subject, in the select assemblies of his brethren, were powerful and irresistible. He awakened the unconcerned, confirmed the wavering, and infused energy into the most zealous. On one occasion, during the annual convention of the society in Philadelphia, when that body was engaged on the subject of slavery, as it related to its own members, some of whom had not wholly relinquished the practice of keeping negroes in bondage, a difference of sentiment was manifested as to the course which ought to be pursued. For a moment it appeared doubtful which opinion would preponderate. At this critical juncture, Benezet left his seat, which was in an obscure part of the house, and presented himself weeping at an elevated door, in the presence of the whole congregation, whom he thus addressed: "*Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God*," he said no more: under the solemn impression which succeeded this emphatic quotation, the proposed measure received the united sanction of the assembly."

It is stated that:

"The person of Anthony Benezet was small; his countenance was composed of strong and interesting features, and though his face beamed with benignant animation, it was far from being handsome. Of this he was himself sensible, for a friend of his once suggesting a desire to possess his portrait, he did not assign the conscientious objection which he probably entertained on the subject, but thus replied to the request: "*O! no, no, my ugly face shall not go down to posterity.*"

"His kindness and charity towards objects of distress were intuitive. One of his friends related having seen him take off his coat in the street and give it to an almost naked mendicant, and go home in his shirt sleeves for another garment."

A great deal more might very properly be said in praise of this truly virtuous man:—but I must close with one more extract from his biography.—

"He died on the third day of the Fifth Month (May) Anno Domini, 1784, aged seventy-one years. When it was announced that death had numbered him among his victims, the expression of regret was universal.

It was a day of sorrow. The afflicted widow, the unprotected orphan, and the poor of all descriptions, had lost the sympathetic mind of Benezet. Society lamented the extinguishment of the brilliant light of his philanthropy: the friendless tribes who wandered in the American wilderness, and the oppressed Africans, were indeed bereft; for his willing pen and tongue had ceased forever to portray the history of their injuries, or plead for the establishment of their rights, before the sons of men.

At the interment of his remains, in Friends' burial ground, which took place two days after his death, the greatest concourse of people that had ever been witnessed on such an occasion in Philadelphia, was present, being a collection of all ranks and professions among the inhabitants, thus manifesting the universal esteem in which he was held. Among others who paid that last tribute of respect, were many hundred black people, testifying by their attendance, and by their tears, the grateful sense they entertained of his pious efforts in their behalf."

LADIES' REPOSITORY.

Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

INCONSISTENCY.

Almost three centuries since, at a time when Europe was just emerging from the mental darkness which had been long spread over it, the unprincipled Pope Leo X, little scrupulous as he was with regard to the means of acquiring wealth, declared "that not only the christian religion, but that nature herself, cried out against a state of slavery." Elizabeth of England, though she shrank not from the commission of a crime which will forever cast a stigma upon her character—the execution of the unfortunate Queen of Scots—in expressing her opinion of the guilt of violently separating men from their homes and families, and forcing them into a state of bondage, gave it as her sentiment, that "it would be detestable, and would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."

Such were the opinions entertained with regard to slavery, at the commencement of the horrible traffic, which has since poured out such an ocean of innocent blood. Opinions expressed too, at a time when its heart-sickening cruelty was rather to be inferred from its nature, than absolutely demonstrated by previous example;—though, even then, its horrible inhumanity was sufficiently apparent—and expressed, too, by those who were not, as princes have seldom been, remarkable for an enthusiastic devotion to the principles of justice. Yet now, when the light of reason and knowledge has been shed, in no stinted increase, over the earth, slavery not only has her strenuous advocates among men of refinement and intelligence, but still exists, uncensured and sanctioned by the laws of a nation which professes a close observance of the rules of christianity and moral justice, and which claims no second place among the free, the liberal, and the enlightened of the earth. The foreign Slave-trade has, it is true, been abolished—has been declared piracy. But our country still clings to the guilt, of which, in the face of the world, she has, by that act, openly avowed her conviction; and the domestic traffic in human flesh, is still unforbidden. The dark shadow of the slave vessel yet lies upon our bright rivers, and the long shriek of hearts in their mortal agony, rises on the ear, as the brutal driver hur-

ries before him his brother herd, and the dearest natural ties are parted forever.

Strange inconsistency! that we should foster at home, what we denounce as deadly iniquity abroad! As if the American air, hostile to every finer feeling, had deadened all kindly emotions, as well in the bosom of the slave as of his tyrant, and their ties of home, of kindred, and of friends, were no longer worthy a regardful thought. True, the ravage of fertile plains, the glare of burning villages, and the horrors attendant upon the "middle passage," are no longer sanctioned. But what then? are we to consider the evil abolished, because an attempt has been made to confine it to our own door? Do fetters cease to gall when they are worn beneath an American sun; or does a breaking heart agonize less when its cords are, one by one, torn away, that it must more slowly sink to death, than when a fierce grasp has severed them at once and it bursts with its first throb of unendurable anguish?

Oh if we would but teach ourselves to reflect! If we would think on all the hearts that so bleed and die beneath the torn fibres of affection—on all the misery that is daily endured—on all the guilt that is incurred—if we would picture to ourselves the infant, wrenched shrieking from the clinging arms of its mother—the wretched wife, torn away in her frantic grief, from the last embrace of her purchased husband—brethren and sisters, who grew up under one roof, scattered asunder, like withered leaves beneath the autumn tempest, and knowing each other's place upon the earth no more forever. Surely, we would "lay our mouths in the dust, in shame and sorrow, for the heartless indifference we have so long manifested for the sufferings of the oppressed."

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

As the increased expense, incurred by making use of the productions of free labor, is often among the reasons assigned for neglect of that method of opposition to Slavery, it may perhaps be well to examine how far such an objection is entitled to consideration. For our own part, we do not think it should be allowed the least weight in determining our conduct. We do not conceive that it is any more excusable to make use of slave-wrought articles, on account of their cheapness, than we have to indulge in whatever else may please our fancy, at the expense of the unpaid creditor. Yet, as a close attention to household economy is certainly the duty of every female, let us enquire if it is not possible to indulge their feelings of humanity, and satisfy the claims of justice, without extending the

limits they have prescribed for their expenses. The difference in the price of the articles, though trifling, may still, when the income of a family is barely sufficient to cover its expenses, deserve to be taken into account. But if the expressed philanthropy is sincere, if there is really a wish felt to lift the yoke from the neck of our enslaved countrymen, in every case, short of actual poverty, might the change from slave to free produce be made without adding one item to the expenditure, or even in the least encroaching on the aggregate of comfort. It is but to forego some paltry gratification, to resign some trifle in which the vanity only is concerned, (and who has not such offerings to make,) and a fund is at once provided, sufficient for the purpose. Is it not better to eat coarse food, unspoiled by rapine and injustice? Is it not better to wear a plain garb, than to be pranked out in delicate or fashionable array, which has been won by oppression? Surely it is! and if the importance of the subject was more frequently and carefully examined, we believe there are many who would be not unwilling to give such a proof of their devotion to the cause of emancipation.

DOING AS OTHERS DO.

We would not willingly ascribe to selfishness or callous feeling, the general reluctance, which so evidently prevails, to engage in an active and practical opposition to slavery. With some, the fear of ridicule may operate—the dread of being supposed to assume a superior sanctity;—or a diffidence of appearing to adopt a higher standard of moral purity, than those whom they have been accustomed to look up to with respect and veneration. But we believe the principal reason why so little is done, may be found in the disposition of individuals to be guided by the opinion and example of others who are unconcerned upon the subject, rather than to give it a close and thoughtful examination themselves, and follow up the decision of judgment with active support. “My parents, or my husband, or my friends, do not see the necessity of restricting themselves to free labor produce,” serves as a satisfactory excuse to many, who would willingly follow a contrary example. Yet would it not be well for these to consider how far they are justifiable in excusing themselves with such a plea. They cannot look into the hearts of others—they do not know whether the subject has been placed before the minds of their friends in its proper light, or how far it has been resisted as an unwelcome intruder. Neither can they tell how far their own example does, or might, *affect the actions of those to whom they them-*

selves look for instruction. But in pursuing the course which humanity dictates, they cannot be mistaken. The slave is before them, helpless, fettered, and miserable. Their sister, woman, amidst her bonds and her degradation, calls upon them for mercy and succour; she is faint and sick with her burden of toil and wretchedness; and will they refuse to listen to the voice of her sad tears? Instead of calling on their friends to fly with them at once to the relief of the sufferer, mingling their tears with hers, soothing her sorrows and cheering her heart once more with the light of hope, will they engage in a heartless consultation, whether their duty requires of them to yield her their assistance, and which of them shall first go forward to offer her relief? Alas! let them remember, that while they delay, her wounds are still bleeding, her aching brow is burning with insupportable anguish, and that the long deferred aid may perhaps come *too late!*

INFLUENCE.

“If we look around not only on the external, but on the moral and mental distinctions among mankind, and consider the ignorance, the miseries and the vices of others as a ground for our more abundant gratitude; what sort of feeling will be excited in certain persons by a sight and sense of those miseries, those vices, and that ignorance, of which their own influence, or example, or neglect, has been the cause?”

HANNAH MORE.

There is no power so widely diffused, or of which we are so little able to compute the final extent, as that of Influence. As a spark, originating in the most humble source, or falling at first unnoticed or disregarded, is capable, as it kindles and spreads, of producing a vast and uncontrollable conflagration;—so may a seemingly obscure individual, give the first impulse to a sentiment, that, like the rushing flame, shall bear down in its course the whole broad fabric of some long enduring error. Such instances, it may be said, are exceedingly rare;—and we grant it. But though it would be preposterous for every individual to expect to influence the opinions of a world, there are few, indeed, whose sphere is so contracted, and whose character of so little weight, as not to hold some ascendancy, either for good or for evil, over the minds and habits of others, and through them over another and wider circle, producing effects, of which, they, who gave the first impetus to the sentiment, are totally unconscious. Let not any then attempt to palliate or excuse an error of which they are conscious, by the idle and dangerous plea, that they harm no one but themselves. They do not—they cannot know this—and it is most probably as false with re-

gard to others, as it is injurious to themselves.—It is scarcely more those who fill a high and conspicuous station among men—the great, the wise, and the talented—who exert a controlling force over general character, than undistinguished woman in her quiet retirement. And if through perilous and culpable indolence, or wilful carelessness, she neglects the duty and the power assigned her, suffering them to lie dormant, to be exerted only as chance may direct, or employed for selfish or unworthy purposes, “will it not be sin—sin of no light grade or venial character.”

Oh let her seriously reflect upon this,—let her consider that what appears but a venial fault in her own conduct, may be the source of crime and misery to others; and surely she will look warily to her way, lest, in her errors, those whom she best loves may be led astray also.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE USE OF FREE PRODUCE.

“No, dear lady, none for me?
Though squeamish some may think it,
West India sugar spoils my tea;
I cannot, dare not, drink it.”

New-Orleans sugar possesses the same properties. It is to our taste, and we hope to that of many of our readers, *undrinkable*; for there are associations connected with it, which its sweetness cannot cover. Yet we will confess, that it requires, at times, some firmness, and is not a little unpleasant to the feelings, to pronounce decisively the rejecting negative. In a company of strangers, you would gladly escape the kindly meant importunity, which obliges you, though conscious of being, at the moment, a subject of general remark, for those who will consider your opinions affected or singular, to assign a reason for your repeated refusal to partake of anything which is imbued with “the spirit of the cause.” And it is still more painful to feel yourself compelled to disappoint the active kindness which, unaware of your scruples, has exerted itself to provide some delicacy for your gratification, or tasked ingenuity to spread before you a board, covered with what, to you, are forbidden viands. Then is the strongest temptation to break through your resolution. You know that so much pains have been taken, solely on your account, you fear that your reasons will not be understood, or *felt*, and, gratified as you are by the motive which has induced the offering, you cannot bear to think of the look of mortification, and hurt or offended feel-

ing, which you are conscious will meet your meditated refusal. Yet should you weakly yield, and suffer your good nature to induce you to violate your principles, what will you have gained? An exemption from a temporary uneasiness, at the expense of an approving conscience, a consistent example, and probably of the ability to remain firm on a future occasion. While, by persisting in your determination, though your reasons, at first, may not appear satisfactory, or well understood, you will have an opportunity of fairly explaining your sentiments, of engaging in a useful discussion, and, perhaps, bringing light and conviction to some who have never before thought upon the subject.

Yet if there be some disagreeable passages occasionally attendant upon this system of abstinence; it has also its redeeming hours, when such trivial embarrassments are far more than overpaid. They come in the low-whispered commendation of a satisfied conscience;—in the approbation of those whom you esteem; and in the heart-felt joy of having won over some one whom you love to mingle in the delight of such a moment; you rejoice, not that you have made a convert, but that the slave has gained a friend. While even the slight alloy of selfish affection, that blends with your pleasure, renders it only the dearer. But in more trifling things than these, there is often a sweet gush of happiness. It comes, though not unmingled, to be sure, in even the tone of regret with which some less scrupulous friend laments the stern rule which dooms the delicacies before you to remain untasted, and your tea to be swallowed *sugarless*. And still dearer is the kindness, which, bending to your principles, exerts itself to procure you a share of the good things of the festal board, unsullied by the crime for which you reject them. A half formed sigh may mingle with the wish that the table before you was always so spread, but it cannot dispel the pleasure with which you meet the affectionate smile of the eye and lip that bids you partake without fear of the proffered cake, and drink your tea, sweetened as it is, unscrupulously. We have some such remembrances around us now, and we know they will compensate for many an unpalatable meal;—try it for yourself, gentle reader, and prove whether the system of abstinence is a harsh one.

GERTRUDE.

A FEMALE SCHOOL IN LIBERIA.

From the Richmond Religious Herald.

It affords us great pleasure to notice an enterprise, which we feel confident will commend itself to the Ladies, generally, and which we doubt not will secure, as it merits, the enlightened and liberal patronage of many. The Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester have taken incipient measures to *establish a Female School*, in Liberia. The Secretary has written to a lady in one of the northern States, who, we understand, is well qualified for the duties of a preceptress, and who, from a christian regard for the perishing, wishes to devote herself to this benevolent work. A model institution of this character, it is estimated, may be sustained in Africa, for three hundred dollars a year.—The Society has recently raised, by regular annual subscriptions from members, and by extra efforts, about \$100. This sum it is believed will be considerably increased by donations from the friends of the cause in this city, as soon as an answer shall be received from the lady who, it is expected, will be the governess of the School.

As we shall, probably, have occasion to speak of this undertaking again, we will now only mention two considerations which, we think, must commend the plan to *all the female friends* of benighted, injured Africa.

1. The education of the females of that colony, is indispensable to its prosperity. This truth is too plain to need explanation. That growing community cannot be intelligent, and enlightened, while the females are left in ignorance, the subjects, perhaps, of weak institutions. Such females are not fit to nurture and train up youth to be freemen, or to exert a salutary influence in improving the manners and morals of Society.

2. The American Colonization Society has no right or power, by its constitution, to appropriate its receipts to the establishment of Schools of any kind. Its funds are, by the rules of the Society, devoted to other objects. If schools, then, are to be planted in Africa, it must be done by donations made expressly for the purpose. And the establishment of a *Female School*, seems to belong to the Ladies, and as, from custom, they seem to regard it as their right to take the lead in almost every good work, it is confidently expected that they will go forward in this enterprise.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE KING-FISHER.

A newspaper paragraph, of last summer, gives an account of the instance of maternal affection in a bird, which has been made the subject of the following lines:—

The King-fisher sat on her hidden nest,
Shielding her young with a downy breast;
She had built her home where the wave went by,
Soothing her ear with its melody;
And the wild bright blossoms bent to dip
In the the rushing waves their thirsty lip.

Pleasant it was while the skies were fair,
And perfume flung on the sunny air,
While the wind in a low sweet whisper died,
Ere it could ruffle the flowing tide;
And the arching skies o'er the waters threw
The deep clear tint of their own pure blue,

But what that is bright, on earth may last?
Soon were the days of her sunshine past:
On came the storm-winds muttering loud,
Sweeping before them the thunder cloud;
And faster, as flashed the lightning's flame,
Dashing to earth the sky-torrents came.

Yet, with her cold wet wing unstirred,
On her shaken nest sat the mother bird;
Still, 'midst danger and death, she clung
With faithful love to her lifeless young,
Till high around her hath risen the tide,
And with her pinion stretched o'er them she died.

Oh! if affection like this hath part
In the warm depths of a wood-bird's heart—
That e'en to die, is a better fate
Than to leave her dear ones desolate;—
What is the love of a mother's breast,
With the seal of a deathless nature prest?

Yet there are men who will rudely tear
The dearest chords that are cherished there;
Wrench from its mother's frantic hold,
Her weeping babes, to be pawn'd for gold;
And scourge her amidst that living death
If she dares but give her woe to breath!

Know ye the land where such deeds are done,
In the broad light of the blessed sun?
Where the spoiler bursts, with savage hand,
The holy links of the household band;
And the ties of natural love are cast,
With a daring hand to the idle blast?

CONSTANCE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SLAVE TRADER.

"A christian broker in the trade of blood—
He buys, he sells, he steals, he kills for gold."

There is no character which, to our view, presents such a mass of total and unmingled depravity as that of the slave trader;—the habitual and mercenary dealer in the bones and sinews of his fellow-beings. All the qualities that we most hate, and that are usually divided in single portions through a whole community, seem in him alone to have met

in an undivided band. The fierce bandit exhibits in his reckless career a spirit of determined daring, not unfrequently mingled with flashes of wayward generosity; and even the skulking midnight assassin needs a species of dogged courage to support him in his dangerous course of guilt. But the sanctioned pirate of the law, the licensed pedlar in blood and agony, stands secure and protected in his hazardous villainy, and employs the safer art of transmuting into gold, the life drops of those who can seek no redress, who can offer no defence against his cruelty. We detest the avaricious wretch who can wring the last cent from the hand of sickness and poverty, and chuckle as he adds to his heaped up store, the narrow pittance of the widow and the orphan. Yet when he dragged down into poverty and distress, those whom he might have made blessed and happy, he left them at least the privilege of enduring and suffering together. If he tore away the last paltry coin from his starving debtor, he did not, at least, lacerate his back with stripes in answer to his appeals for mercy. But the slave-dealer—he demanded the payment of no debt—he tore away no gold from the hand of his victim. It was the heart which he made his prey—and rifled it of all love, all hope, all the brightness of life. When the wretched father of a family knelt before him, beseeching mercy and compassion, he did not coldly bid them go labour for their support, but he wrenched them away from him forever. When the agonized mother wept before him, and he cast her prayer to the idle winds, it was not to petition that he would leave wherewith to provide bread for her children, but that he would leave her only one, of all her infants, upon which to pour out the affections of her bereaved bosom. And what is the passion that urges him on in his career of inhumanity and crime? Avarice! mean, heartless, soul-destroying avarice! The same thirst of gold that roots every finer feeling from the bosom of the grasping miser—that steals the heart of the felon murderer—and prompts the abandoned “wrecker” to secure his spoil by plunging the knife into the heart of the shipwrecked mariner. ELA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THOSE I LOVE.

Oh turn ye not displeased away, though I should sometimes seem

Too much to press upon your ear an oft repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs is heavy at my heart,
And can I choose but wish from you a sympathizing part?

I turn to you to share my joy,—to soothe me in my grief—
In wayward sadness, from your smiles, I seek a sweet relief;
And shall I keep this burning wish to see the slave set free,
Locked darkly in my secret heart, unshared and silently?

I cannot know that all the chords, which give their magic tone
Like Memnon's harp, in music out, 'neath sunshine smiles alone,
Are torn by savage hands away from woman's bleeding breast,
And with their sweetness on my soul, my feelings keep repress!

If I had been a friendless thing,—if I had never known,
How swell the fountains of the heart beneath affection's tone,
I might have, careless, seen the leaf torn rudely from its stem—
But clinging as I do to you,—can I but feel for them?

I could not brook to list the sad sweet music of a bird,
Though it were sweeter melody than ever ear had heard,
If cruel hands had quenched its light, that in the plaintive song,
It might the breathing memory of other days prolong.

And can I give my lip to taste the life-bought luxuries wrung
From those on whom a darker night of anguish has been flung—
Or silently and selfishly enjoy my better lot,
While those, whom God hath bade me love, are wretched and forgot?

Oh no! So blame me not, sweet friends, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear an oft-repeated theme!

The story of the negro's wrongs hath won me from my rest,
And I must strive to wake for him an interest in your breast! MARGARET.

SELECTIONS.

FREE LABOUR IN TRINIDAD.

“In the year 1814, a large British squadron, having on board a powerful land force, made a descent on different parts of the coast of the southern United States. During these expeditions, some hundreds of the American slaves joined the British standard by invitation. When the campaign was over, a difficulty occurred about disposing of these. It was at length determined to fix them in Trinidad, as *free labourers*. But an objec-

tion was started by the planters against receiving them. They were sure that no free negro would ever work for hire, and that therefore they would support themselves by plunder. Sir Ralph Woodford, the governor, however, resisted these prejudices. He received them into the island, and settled them where he supposed the experiment would be most safely made. The result has shewn his discernment. These men are now earning their own livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away. Their number in 1816, when they were settled, was 774, men, women, and children. The official return of the number of these settlers at the close of 1824, was 932, being an increase, in eight years, of 149, at the rate of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum; while the slaves in the same island have been decreasing at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Mr. Mitchell, the superintendant of these free Negroes, himself a sugar planter, who had resided in Trinidad for 27 years, says, he knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not being able to maintain himself. Their easy circumstances rendering them independent, though they are ready to work for hire on sugar estates from sun-rise to sun-set, yet they will not submit to the toil of the slave, who in many instances, is forced to work 18 hours out of the 24. The manumitted slaves, who do not cultivate their own ground, generally work as journeymen tradesmen. They are generally observant of the marriage tie. The women are careful of their children, and feed and clothe them well; and they attend to their domestic concerns. The free settlers enjoy the rest of Sunday, and never work in their grounds; they generally hear a lecture from one of their preachers; and pass the rest of the day quietly.

"In the island of Trinidad, there are upwards of 15,000 free people of colour. There is not a single pauper amongst them. They live independently and comfortably, and nearly half of the property of the island is said to be in their hands. It is admitted by all, that they are highly respectable in character, and are rapidly advancing in knowledge and refinement."

It is stated in a recent communication from Trinidad, "that the most work is done by free blacks and people from the

main, at a much cheaper rate than by slaves, and as these are generally employed by the foreigners, this accounts for their succeeding better than our countrymen, who are principally from the old islands, and are unaccustomed to any other management than that of slaves; however, they are coming into it fast; and it is the general opinion, that if no importation is allowed, the slaves will soon give way to a free population."

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER

From the Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Churches under their care.

DEAR BRETHREN:

As those who must shortly give an account, we consider it our duty to address you, in regard to the following resolution, which, after mature deliberation, was passed unanimously at our meeting in September last—viz:

"Resolved, That buying or selling, or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, and requires the cognizance of the judicatories of the church." To one, who has but little acquaintance without our region, it would be natural to ask, what have the churches in Ohio to do with slavery? The assumption is, that in our land of freedom, there are no slave-holders. Yet, scarcely a year passes without application for privileges in the churches of Ohio, by persons more or less involved in this sin. It is possible, that within our own bounds, there may be professors of religion living on farms which were bought with the price of human flesh and blood; and that there are others who derive a yearly revenue, from the hire of slaves left behind them in other States, in the hands of unprincipled men, who care neither for their souls nor their bodies, provided they obtain from their labours the worth of their hire. It is also well known, that unthinking persons are almost daily tempted by advertisements of large rewards, to seize, and restore slaves, who are escaping from bondage; notwithstanding the command, (Deut. 23. 15, 16.) in that law to which slave-holders themselves, sometimes appeal: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his Master, the servant which is escaped from his Master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of the gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." It may be, there are among you, brethren, some who are

guilty in these matters, and yet impenitent. If so, the sin of slave-holding is not only the sin of our land, and of our church; but it is *our* sin. We wish to call your attention to three points embraced in the resolution. We say—

I. That buying or selling, or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin. We say nothing about cases of involuntary and unavoidable slave-holding, if such do exist. We speak exclusively of that which, whatever else may be pretended, is, in fact, the offspring of covetousness, or the love of gain. We consider it unnecessary to prove that it is a sin to rob a fellow man of that liberty, which men generally profess to hold dearer than life. On this subject, there is no diversity of sentiment among us. We hold it as a self-evident truth, "that all men, by nature are, and of right ought to be, free." No one with whom we have intercourse either in the church, or out of it, is willing to be ranked with the enemies of universal liberty. Even the lordly owner of a hundred slaves, will tell you, that he "hates the principle" of slavery. Much as he delights in the practice of trading in the bodies and souls of men, and depriving them of their freedom; he hates the principle.

It is lamentable too, that those professors of religion who are most deeply immersed in the guilt of this sin, are often heard declaring, that they are conscientiously opposed to the "principle," and they are loud in their lamentations, that such an evil should prevail among us. But brethren, do you weigh the import of your own acknowledgment, that slave-holding is a sin? Do you realise that it is nothing more nor less than an acknowledgment, that it is a transgression of God's holy law; that it exposes to the wrath of a sin avenging God, and that there is no forgiveness of it, but through the atoning blood of the Saviour? It would be an alleviating circumstance, if we could believe that the slave-holder jeopardised no man's soul but his own. But it is otherwise.

His sin is,

II. A scandal in the scriptural sense of the word; it is a stumbling block to others. If by things harmless in themselves, such as eating meat offered to Idols, a christian might become chargeable with the blood of souls; much more may he cause others to stumble, by that which is, in itself, a transgression of

God's law. It requires but a limited acquaintance with the world around us, to perceive that it is the example of christian slave-holders, which keeps the slave-holding world in countenance. They are compelled to draw the inference, that either to trample on the rights of our neighbours, is consistent with the religion and example of Jesus, or that those professors who are doing so, are inconsistent with their profession, and they will sometimes draw one of these conclusions, and sometimes the other, just as they may find it convenient to quiet their own consciences, or give vent to their enmity against the cross of Christ. We say therefore, that,

III. This heinous sin and scandal requires the cognizance of the judicatories of the church. We mean, that Ministers and church judicatories ought to deal with this, as with any other sins and scandals—by preaching and other means of instruction; or by the exercise of discipline; or whatever means the Saviour has given us, for the purpose, they are bound to bring the guilty to repentance, or exclude them from the communion of the church. That the church ought thus to take cognizance of every thing which is heinously sinful and scandalous, is an axiom in Theology, which no well informed christian pretends to deny. But still there are objections: for there are those who will claim the privilege of lording it over the rights of their fellow men. To be able to live in sin because they love it, and because they think it profitable, and yet to have nothing with which to sooth the conscience, and quiet their fears, appears to be exclusively, the attainment of Devils. There is one plea which we feel ourselves bound to answer, or be silent on this subject. We are told that slavery existed in the days of the Apostles—slavery of a very frightful kind—the Master had power over the life of the slave, and the Apostles prudently said nothing about it. That this sin did prevail extensively in the world, in their days, we believe. If we had no evidence of this in history, we should consider it probable, that men who under the influence of pagan despots were up in arms of rebellion against the Almighty, would of course be trampling on each other's rights. Men who hate their Maker, cannot love one another: but, that the Apostles said nothing about slavery, or, that it was tolerated in the church, is most untrue; and we feel ourselves bound to show that it is false. We

cannot but remark, however, that it is painful to hear professed followers of Jesus, claiming kindred in their practice, with men, some of whom, were worshippers of Devils; and alleging a supposed silence of the Apostles, as a plea for living in that, which they themselves acknowledge to be a sin. It is this plea of supposed Apostolic example, and silence, which has, for ages, kept the consciences of slave-holders quiet; and sealed the lips of many Ministers on the subject, and in many parts of christendom, has riveted the chains of the poor African. In our remarks on this subject, let it be distinctly kept in view, we have not a word to say to Atheists, who deny the existence of any law of God, which forbids a man to deprive his neighbor of his rights; nor to reprobates, who deny that to trample on that law, is sin; nor to any man who refuses to be regulated by the Bible. Our concern is exclusively with those christians who acknowledge that slaveholding is a sin; but maintain, that owing to some peculiarity of circumstances, we should say nothing.

BLACK LIST.

INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

Hear the wretched victims wailing—
Hear the clanking of their chains—
See the Hell-Ship swiftly sailing!
Cursed be her wicked gains!

The following is an extract of a letter to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, dated, Alexandria, Dec. 22d, 1830:

"The Brig Comet, Capt. Staples, (I believe,) of New York, sailed from this place on the 18th instant, with one hundred and seventy slaves on board, shipped by one House:—and the Brig United States is expected to sail in a few days, with more. Besides these, the Steamboat, nearly every week, carries a greater or less quantity to be shipped at Norfolk."

In the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, for last month, an extract from Lander's account of Clapperton's Expedition was inserted, giving a heart-piercing description of the sale, &c. of a negro girl. But what are we to think of ourselves, or what will others think of us, when it is considered that we tolerate the same system that gives rise to such horrible practices on the coast of Africa. This we positively do; for here, in these United States—these "*Free States!*"—scenes quite as affecting, and of a similar character, frequently occur. Here the children are torn from their parents, by the same cruel arts, and the same kind of hardened, soulless monsters. Here fathers have often sold

their own children, their ossified hearts possessing as little of the feeling of humanity as the most brutal barbarian upon earth!! Is this a "libel" upon my countrymen?—It is THE TRUTH!!!—*O tempora, O mores!*

The same letter, from which the foregoing extract is taken, gives an account of a daring attempt at kidnapping, as follows—The name of the villains are suppressed, as they are in the hands of the Law—

"An alarming attempt at kidnapping occurred here, a few days since, an account of which I perceive has not been noticed in the newspapers, probably for fear they might lose the advertising of "a few likely young Negroes," &c. The circumstances, as far as I have been able to learn, are these:

A Captain, whose name I have not heard, came to this market with slaves, having on board a free boy of colour. A man by the name of ——— either bought or helped to unload the schooner. After he had finished, he proposed to the boy to go with him, with an empty jug, to purchase some Whiskey, with which to treat the Captain. The boy complied, and followed him up town, as far as Franklin and Armfield's, to whom he offered to sell him for \$400, affirming that he was born a slave. They inquired if he was the owner. He said no, but repeated that the boy was a slave. They asked the owner's name, which was refused. They then asked his name; this he also refused. They then sent for an officer, who took him immediately before the Mayor for examination; and as Messrs. F. & A. were determined not to be imposed upon, they employed a Lawyer to prosecute him. He is now in jail, as is also the Captain, to await their trial."

AN AWFUL PROSPECT!

The two following paragraphs, from Southern Papers, are momentous. But the only measures that we hear of being proposed, to obviate danger, are of a piece with those projected by the late tyrannical Ministers of the British and French Governments—THEY CONTINUE TO INCREASE THE CAUSE OF ALARM, INSTEAD OF REMOVING IT!! Do we need any better evidence that the pretensions of many of our high-professing "Republicans" are hollow, and that more political reformation is absolutely requisite?

Domestic Slavery!!—The New Orleans "Argus," of the 15th of November, states, that the brig Ajax, Bentall, had arrived there, from Norfolk, "*With a full cargo of Slaves!*"

Insurrection of Blacks.—On the 22d of October, a citizen of Plaquemine, (Louisiana) received some information relative to a contemplated insurrection of the negro slaves. On the following day one or two companies of militia were ordered out, and succeeded in arresting several slaves—four of whom, on being imprisoned and examined separately, testified that there were upwards of 100 negroes concerned in the plot, several of whom were free. The ringleaders were to be punished.

Genius of Universal Emancipation

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

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✂ Correspondents, and the publishers of periodical works who exchange with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, are requested to direct their letters, communications and papers, in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

✂ One number more will complete the present volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. New subscribers, wishing to commence with the next volume, are requested to send in their orders immediately. Should any of those at present on the list decline, they are desired to signify their intention to the post masters, or to my agents, and thereby relieve me from the tax of postage. ✂ Remittances may be made, as usual, by mail (post paid) at my risk, and in the current *Bank paper of the section of country in which the subscriber resides*.

A few copies of the present volume may be had, complete, on immediate application, at the original price. The engravings, themselves, are worth the sum demanded for a volume.

THE "LIBEL."

Nothing further has yet been done in this momentous affair. My *Libelees* appear to be lying on their oars, waiting, probably, for a stronger popular breeze, or the anticipated popular sunshine of a more convenient season.

Wm. L. Garrison also informs me, that his friend Todd has neither demanded a compliance with the terms of his "bond," nor the forfeit of the "pound of flesh."

Our persecutors suddenly manifest a considerable degree of lenity, without even a show of repentance on our part! It is to be hoped they are about reforming themselves.

"THE LIBERATOR."

When the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* for the last month was issued, I had barely room to advert to the establishment of the above named work in Boston, the first number having just come to hand. Since that period I have received four numbers more; and instead of giving it a dry, old-fashioned "puff," I request every friend of our cause to immediately subscribe for it.

It will be remembered that, in August last, Wm. L. Garrison issued proposals to publish a paper under the same title, in the city of Washington. These proposals were extensively cir-

culated in the newspapers of the day. But soon afterwards, the prospect seeming rather hopeless, the project was abandoned. Arrangements were then made to open an office for the publication of this work, in Washington. It appears, however, that the experience which our friend Garrison has had in the Anti-Slavery Vineyard, has roused his spirit to action, inasmuch that he is quite unprepared to abandon the cause. He has now raised the standard of philanthropy in a quarter where (although public opinion may not at this moment admit the necessity) a genuine anti-slavery press was greatly needed.—And I rejoice to learn that there is a disposition in many to patronise his undertaking. I do sincerely hope that his truly laudable efforts will meet with the success they so eminently deserve.

He has associated a gentleman with him, in the publication of the paper, of the name of Isaac Knapp, whose zeal in the good cause is scarcely inferior to his own. He is a young man of sterling worth, and will be a valuable coadjutor in this holy enterprise.

The noble stand which these two champions in the cause of humanity have taken, will endear them to the true friends of the unfortunate African. The present generation, however, will not do them justice. If it gives them the wherewithal to live and labor in their vocation, it is all they must expect. If they hold on, their youth and manhood will be spent in facing the fiends of slander and persecution—but their old age will be cheered with the smile of an approving world. What glorious scenes have they before them! Let the heartless miser delight in piling up his hoarded treasures, like Pelion upon Ossa—Let the aspiring Demagogue list to the unmeaning huzzas of a thoughtless multitude, and revel in the moonshine of popular applause—Let the ambitious warrior glory in the crimson sheen of his burnished armorial, the sound of the prancing hoof, or the rush of the gory surge on the field of carnage—the cup of their pleasure is filled with the ingredients of woe; in a moment it becomes a very chalice to their lips; and anon themselves and their bliss and their fame are consigned to merited oblivion, or remembered with execration. But the less ostentatious and unpretending devotees of justice and philanthropy have a more broad and solid found-

dation whereon to build their hopes of happiness and fame. The perennial bloom of joy sheds its fragrance on their minds, and neutralises the gloomy shadowings of care. They sit quietly under the Vine of self-approbation and the umbrageous boughs of Divine favor, smiling at the impotent fierceness of the elements of human wrath, in commotion around them. They startle not at the roar of the angry thunder—they wink not at the lightening's keenest flashes—Though assailed by the showerings of the storm, they are subjected to nought but its vapoury peltings—the scathless rage of its own dissolving power. With undisturbed serenity of mind they digest the bread of peace and contentment, and their bowl is never drugged with the poison of self-condemning anguish. If they persevere unto the end, with honest intent and purity of purpose, they will not only be amply remunerated for all their toil and trouble, but the *value* of their reward will be incalculable.—When summoned to the bar of Eternal Justice, they will possess, in addition to the blissful treasure of Divine approbation, the highest human enjoyment,—the satisfaction of leaving behind them even an *earthly* immortality, that shall excite the admiration and praise, and likewise influence the moral and virtuous efforts of a grateful posterity.

But my limits will not permit me to say the thousandth part that I could wish, for the encouragement of these noble coadjutors in the sacred work of African redemption. Friends of humanity! hasten to their aid. Patronise them, not with mere *promises*, (as too many have “patronised” me,) but give them *substantial support*. They will deserve it, *richly* deserve it. I cannot ask any of my friends to *forsake me* for that purpose—it would be suicidal to my own publication—but I do earnestly recommend every one, that can afford it, to subscribe for the “*Liberator*.” Who can sufficiently admire the resolution of its proprietors? In a letter from W. L. Garrison, of a very recent date, he informs me that they have adopted the most economical system of supporting themselves and prosecuting their business; and he concludes with these emphatic words:—

“We shall fare on bread and water, a long time, before we strike our flag. Whether we sink or swim, in this new enterprise, we shall remain the unyielding advocates of the poor slave.”

Advocates of freedom! “fare,” of this sort, is not meet recompence for such charitable devotion. *I know what it is*. I have, myself, (when engaged in the same cause,) *fared* as humbly, while braving the rude blasts of winter, in the wilderness, with my knapsack and my staff:—and I repeat, it is *not* due recompence for an

honest labourer in such a field; neither can it be supposed that every one can endure it. All the citizens of the United States are interested in this matter; and, of course, all are in duty bound to *consider it*.

In conclusion, I quote several paragraphs from the editorial address, accompanying the first number of the “*Liberator*,” with the single additional remark: that I am glad to perceive neither *religious* or *political* controversy, of a sectarian or partizan character, in the numbers yet issued; and, also, that I trust nothing of the kind will appear in those to come.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In the month of August, I issued proposals for publishing “*THE LIBERATOR*” in Washington City; but the enterprise, though hailed in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the Genius of Universal Emancipation to the Seat of Government, has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states—and *particularly in New England*—than at the south. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth place of liberty*. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoiliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe—yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free!

I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? *I will be as harsh as truth*, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true*. On this question my influence,—humble as it is,—is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to dis-

regard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare," and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power.—And here I close with this fresh dedication:

'Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel—but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base:—
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing
veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalising sway—till Afric's chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,—
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take—SO HELP ME GOD!

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, January 1, 1831.

COLORED PEOPLE IN PHILADELPHIA.

In the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an extract of a letter from a friend in Philadelphia was inserted, giving an account of a meeting of the colored people to consider the propriety of forming an association to encourage the use of the productions of *free laborers*, in preference to those of slaves. In another letter, from the same gentleman, I have received the following report of a committee of the Free Produce Society of Philadelphia, relative to the proceedings of a second meeting for the same purpose.

"On the evening of the 20th of the 12th mo. (December) a very respectable assemblage of male colored persons took place at R. Allen's church, agreeably to the proposal made at the meeting on the 6th of the same month. The number present was estimated at about 500.—The sub-committee, (consisting of Dr. C. Noble and J. L. Pierce,) appointed at the last meeting of the committee for the purpose, met with them, accompanied by a few other individuals. The meeting was properly organized by the appointment of Ignatious Beck, chairman, and Charles Levick, and James Cornish, secretaries. A short address, which the committee had prepared for the occasion, was then read, and received with great attention and interest. A Constitution was presented by one of their number, which was read and unanimously adopted:—after which the names of such persons were called as felt desirous of joining the Society, when about two hundred and thirty names were attached to the Constitution. A committee was then appointed to select suitable candidates for the different offices of the Society, previously to their next meeting, and also to procure other signatures to the Constitution. The meeting then adjourned."

The preamble to the Constitution of this association was prepared for insertion in this number of the *G. U. E.* but is, for want of room, laid over for the next.

DELAWARE CONVENTION.

From the proceedings of the Legislature of Delaware, as published in the *Wilmington papers*, it appears that body has authorized the call

of a *Convention*, to remodel the Constitution of the State.

Now is the time, for the opponents of the system of slavery to be up and doing. The Convention will meet on the second Tuesday in November next: and, consequently, no time should be lost in collecting facts, and preparing arguments, to submit to its consideration.

But the papers are silent upon the subject.—Where are the stout-hearted, the warm and philanthropic members of the Abolition Society of that State? Surely, we shall soon hear from them.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

As there is not the least probability of any step being taken in Congress, at the present session, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, I have postponed the insertion of several articles relative to it, intended for this number.—Some of them, however, will appear next month. A petition from Boston has been presented; and a few others will yet be handed in—enough, merely to keep the subject alive.—But *next session*—then, we hope, the friends of our cause will speak in louder tone.

MARYLAND LEGISLATURE.

A recent attempt has been made, in the Legislature of Maryland, to prevent the citizens from emancipating their slaves, except on condition of their leaving the State. Mr. BRAUNER and Mr. HICKS reported bills to that effect. They were, however, *rejected*. The ferocious beast of oppression rages, as though he were in the agonies of death!

KENTUCKY.

Two bills were lately before the Legislature of Kentucky, one of which is intended to prohibit the use of common jails for the traffickers in human flesh. The other provides that all slaves shall be free, after the 1st day of June next, who shall be brought into the state for sale. This is *striking at the root of the horrible "trade."*

§3- More than a dozen editorial articles are in type, or prepared for it, which must lay over. A number of communications, and a great mass of selected matter (some of which is in type) must share the same fate.—*I have not room enough!*

§3- A biographical notice of John Woolman was designed for this number, but is necessarily deferred to a future period.

From the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, it appears that the cost of removing 252 re-captured Africans from the United States to Liberia, (with the expenses of "providing

port for the persons removed for some time after their arrival in the colony," amounted to the round sum of \$264,710 !!! If President Jackson had placed these people under my care, and authorized me to settle them in Hayti, for that price, I should have made a fortune by it! Surely, our friend, Chilton, never looked into this office of disbursement. The hand of "re-trenchment" and "reform" "approaches it not!"

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

I will, now, further briefly notice the propositions, copied from the above named work, in the last number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—And, first, the writer says:—

"For the *existence* of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society."

According to this idea, gambling, drunkenness, lewdness, and many other capital vices—even high-way robbery itself, may be considered as attaching *no blame* to the people of the present generation, because, forsooth, those vices originated with their predecessors! Is not this a rational interpretation of the proposition? Surely the writer will not contend that the simple enactment of human laws, is a fair criterion to judge of moral right and wrong!—And here we are presented with a strange display of consistency, when we consider the treatment of persons who are guilty of (no not "guilty" of, but *famihar with!*) such evil practices. They are denounced as scandalous and criminal, from the pulpit and the press.—They are shunned by the moral and the virtuous, as degraded and wicked beings.—Penal statutes are brought to bear upon them, not because they are blameworthy, but because their ancestors were!—Even the *gallows* is put in requisition, and some are doomed to expiate their *misfortunes* (not their crimes!) upon its awful threshold!!!

The writer acknowledges the *evils* of slavery; and he asserts that our predecessors, who originated the system, "must account to God for those crimes, and for the *natural results* of those crimes, through all generations." But this doctrine, which exonerates from blame the *living participants* in crime, and throws all accountability upon the original transgressors, who have long since received the reward of their demerits and ceased to interfere with earthly concerns, is, in my estimation, the most preposterous and dangerous that ever was broached. It most effectually shuts the door of reformation, so far as its influence extends, and aids powerfully to perpetuate vice and crime, without answering any good purpose whatever. It

is indeed astonishing, that intelligent men of the present day can adopt such a paradoxical and illogical course of reasoning—and more strange is it still, that eminent "divines," professing the holy religion of *JESUS*, shall suffer themselves to sanction theories so absurd, and arguments so totally at variance with the maxims of Christian philosophy. And it may be observed, that there is no class of men, from whose erroneous doctrines more harm is likely to result, than from theirs.

In his second proposition, the author of the article in question roundly asserts, that:—

"The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. It recognizes, both in the Old Testament and in the New, the existence of such a constitution of society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution."

To this it will be almost impossible for me to reply, *at length*, in that spirit of courtesy that I wish to observe in discussing the subject with one whom I have long held in high estimation. I will, here, simply enter my *solemn protest* against the *opinion* thus advanced, and invite the writer to peruse the extracts from the letter of the Presbyterian Synod of Chillicothe, as well as the resolutions of the Synod of Indians, which are inserted in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

The comparison instituted in the third proposition, between the Russian system of peasantry and the Chinese and Turkish despotisms, on the one hand, and American slavery, on the other, is totally inapplicable. Throwing aside all consistency of principle—all profession of christian virtue, on our part, and considering the different nations merely as "*leathaps*," the Russians, the Chinese, and the Turks have (morally speaking) the advantage of us in this question. The slavery which they tolerate—as referred to by this writer—is more *political* than *personal*. It is infinitely *less absolute* than that tolerated by us. In Turkey, it is true, a system of personal slavery exists; but it is less horrible in its nature than that in the United States or the European colonies. But the writer in the *Spectator* does not particularly advert to this. He notices the *political condition* of the people of the nations above enumerated, and compares it with that of hereditary, absolute, unconditional, *brutal* bondage, as practiced in our own country! What is the political condition of the people above mentioned? They have, among many other privileges, that of *locomotion*. If they choose, they may leave their country and seek a home where they will be invested with all the rights and immunities of freemen. *Are our slaves permitted to do this?* Let the thousands

of advertisements for runaways, which disgrace our newspapers, and their publishers, answer the question. And further, in those nations the persons alluded to are not considered as mere chattel property. Families cannot be forcibly separated, at the will of a haughty unfeeling tyrant, as they very often are in this country.

But I consider it unnecessary to pursue this part of the subject further. The intelligent reader will, I trust, perceive the inapplicability of the comparison, and, consequently, the fallaciousness of the reasoning based upon it. Far be it from me to justify any thing in the shape of political tyranny. No man upon earth is more opposed to it than I am. In the language of the day, I have ever considered myself a *democratic republican*. But I do consider personal slavery more heinous in its nature than political despotism, so far as the nature of both are understood, and the different terms are, by common consent, applied. And any attempt to confound them, argues either a want of reflection or a disingenuousness in an author.

I might say a great deal more upon the general subject before us.—Ancient records, sacred and profane, could, with all ease, be quoted to my advantage. But I consider that it would be a mere waste of time, in this instance.

As respects the censure bestowed upon my conduct, in advocating the cause of African Emancipation, I am prepared to meet it. It is but natural to expect it, if I perform my duty in promoting a reformation in the community. So blind and corrupt have many become, that nothing but the severest moral chastisement will have the least effect upon them. The “sons of Belial” and the “scribes and pharisees” of the present day, are the same sort of beings, in principle, that they were in the days of yore; and those who endeavor to expose them, with the view of correcting the abuses which they have introduced in society, must expect treatments similar to that which the prophets, apostles, and other reformers in days gone by, have uniformly met with. There are, also, *popularity-seekers* every where—in the pulpit, in the forum, in the cabinet, and in every private coterie. These will always set their faces against a wholesome denunciation of vice, or they will palliate, extenuate, and excuse the conduct of some such as practice it, provided they suppose it may redound to their advantage, ease, or pleasure. And whoever expects to make headway in the righteous cause of political, moral, or religious reformation, must put on the harness of iron, and shield himself with the breastplate of truth and unyielding courageous perseverance.

The writer, whose article I have thus briefly

commented on, has advanced nothing therein calculated to shake my faith in the principles I have long since embraced; and he is requested to excuse me for handing back to him the full amount of censure which he so liberally applied to me. And, in conclusion, I again recommend him to persevere, and also to weigh well, the arguments of his *Presbyterian brethren* of Ohio and Indiana, as before mentioned. The Indiana resolutions are appended to this article, and some further extracts from a letter of the Synod of Chillicothe will follow, in continuation of those heretofore inserted.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SYNOD OF INDIANA.

“*Resolved*, That the buying, selling, or holding of a slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, requiring the cognizance of the church judicatories—and whereas these sins prevail to an alarming extent in our nation, and in our church.—

“*Resolved*, That the third Thursday of January next be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in view of the deplorable condition of the people of color in our land: that all the ministers and sessions under the care of this Synod, be requested to convene their respective churches and cry mightily to God, that he would not visit us in wrath, but would in mercy give repentance to such as are guilty of depriving their fellow men of their natural rights, and especially of the means of instruction and grace. And that he would, in his providence, point to, and prosper such means, as may speedily effect the release of the oppressed, and restore to them their rights and privileges, and at the same time, secure the peace and prosperity of our church and nation.

“*Resolved*, That J. Crothers, J. H. Dickey, and Wm. Graham, be a committee to correspond with other Synods and individuals, to call forth, if possible, such an expression of public sentiment on this subject as shall induce the judicatories of the church, to attend and to take such steps as shall finally remove the evil from the church.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER

From the *Presbytery of Chillicothe to the Churches under their care.*

(CONTINUED.)

We remark,

I. If it be true that the Apostles said nothing about slave-holding, that fact ought to put an end to all controversy about it. All orthodox christians maintain, that Apostolick example is just as obligatory, as Apostolick precept. It is by the example of the Apostles, and churches under their care, that we are taught many of the important truths and duties which we believe and practice every day. If it can be proved that they maintained an habitual silence on the point in question, that fact ought to seal the lips of every minister and christian on the subject; and every one who would open his mouth against slavery, ought to

be dealt with immediately as a scandalous person.

II. To admit that slave-holding is a sin, and then maintain that the Apostles, from prudential motives, said nothing against it, is absurd in itself. It is just saying that they permitted their hearers to die unwarned in a damning sin: and to call this prudence, is only to give ministerial unfaithfulness a christian name. How did they come to say nothing about it, if they knew it to be a sin? Was the Popish notion of venial sins so fashionable among them, that they considered it a matter of no consequence whether men repented of it or not? Or, did they suppose that their hearers were naturally so prone to repent of this sin that it would be a matter of course; or did they suppose it would be time enough, when they would get to Heaven? We read in the the New Testament, of their requiring of christians, to abandon things which were in themselves innocent, and to deny themselves of some important privileges, from motives of prudence or expediency; and to say that they ever counted it imprudent to abandon sin, or to tell men to do so, is just as foolish as it is wicked. We care not what you tell us of the peculiarities of their situation; it is in the face of all peculiarities, that God has said: "Thou shalt in any wise reprove thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him." And again, "when I say unto the wicked, thou shalt surely die, and if thou givest him not warning, nor speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand." But what was there in their situation, so peculiar? The most imposing account of the matter is this: "In the time of the Apostles, slavery was every where, in Pagan countries, established by law—the rulers, and the great body of the people were slave-holders; and in order that christianity might obtain a footing and keep its ground, the Apostles prudently said nothing about holding slaves."

III. We consider this a gross slander on the Apostles, and the religion which they preached. No man of plain common sense, can look such a statement fairly in the face, without being confounded by its impiety and impudence. We know that the Jesuits undertook to convert idolators by meeting them half way. We know that Mahomet made proselytes,

by putting polygamy and many abominable sins on the list of virtues. We know that Pagans succeeded in propagating their systems, by accommodating them to the taste of adulterers and drunkards. But it was reserved for the advocates of slavery to tell us that even the Apostles succeeded, in propagating the religion of Jesus, by compromising with the lusts of slave-holders. Thus the Apostles must be put on a level with the vilest impostors; and the religion which is from above, must claim kindred with some of the worst systems on earth, and in one of their meanest features. But who does not know, that one of the distinguished features of christianity, and one of her chief glories; is, and always has been, her pure, uncompromising spirit. Nothing so confounded infidels in the first ages of the christian church, as the fact, that a religion which frowns upon every impurity in man, and requires the absolute abandonment of every sin, should, in a few years, through the preaching of plain and honest fishermen, be able to number, among her sincere followers, almost whole provinces of those who were once the vilest of men. They were constrained to acknowledge, that it was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in their eyes. But there is not so much mystery in the matter, if it be true that the Apostles bribed the world into friendship, by an undisturbed permission to make slaves of their neighbors.

Is it credible, that under a proper sense of responsibility to their master, they should preach against every other sin, and yet habitually avoid telling any man that it was a sin to make a slave of his brother? Can we believe, that while they endeavored, by the exercise of discipline, to banish every other sin from the church; the sin of buying and selling and holding their brethren in slavery, was permitted, like the "sacred bulls" among the worshippers of Juggernaut, to come and go as it pleased; and even when they found it in the church trampling on the hope of salvation, they would not disturb it, lest the powers of darkness should rise and drive them out of their coasts? We have heard of Pagans, who sometimes worshipped the devil, merely to keep him quiet. But that the Apostles kept the enemies of the cross quiet, by tenderness towards their favorite sin, is a slander, which for originality and malignity, has no parallel.

We appeal to the whole history of the Apostles—to their behaviour in every instance, in which the will of man came in competition with the will of God. If the spirit of christianity be such a trimmer, how do you acquit the Apostles of folly, in suffering so much persecution; and in dying on crosses and gibbets?—We know why they were persecuted, and why they died martyrs. Wherever they saw sin, they would call it by its own name; and wherever they saw a soul in danger of being ruined by it, they would speak out, though suffering, and even death should be the consequence.

IV. To say, that the Apostles said nothing about slavery, is contrary to fact. They preached against it wherever they found it. This is quite susceptible of proof, though not one of their sermons can be produced. What did they preach? This question is answered by deciding another. What did the Saviour send them to preach? They were sent to preach the gospel. More particularly—their commission was, to preach in his name, repentance and remission of sins. Of what sins did they tell all men in the name of Jesus to repent? For what sins did they tell them they would find remission in the Saviour's blood? Or did they purposely preach these things so entirely in the gross that their hearers could not possibly understand the particulars? We have heard preachers reproved for preaching against slavery, by reminding them that they had better preach the gospel—as if preaching the gospel, were preaching unintelligibly; or, as if preaching repentance and pardon for a particular sin, were not preaching the gospel. If the Apostles carefully (or if you please prudently) concealed from those who were guilty of claiming power over the lives and liberties of their fellow men, that they had offended God, and if they never told them there was pardon for them bought with the Saviour's blood, how do you acquit them of the charge of treason against their Master, or of unfaithfulness to the souls of men.

Let us hear the Apostle Paul's account of his own preaching, in his farewell address to the elders of Ephesus. After reminding them that he had taught them publicly, and from house to house, testifying, both to Jews and Greeks, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; and after assuring them that they would see his face

no more; he adds: "Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." Are we to be told that when the Apostle made this solemn appeal, the fact was staring him in the face, that in his whole life he had never told a man that he must repent of the sin of enslaving his neighbor; and that in the last day every soul to whom he had preached would rise up and tell him that throughout his whole ministry he had uniformly shunned to declare that part of God's counsel, which relates to the sin of slave holding, and all that part of his counsel which relates to the pardon of that sin, through the blood of his son. O Brethren! it is a bad cause which cannot be defended without such "girds" at the Apostles.

V. The Apostles do condemn slavery in their epistles, and in every one of them.

To prove this would be evidently gratuitous, were it not that professors are never more inconsistent, than when advocating this sin. They themselves acknowledge that it is a sin, and of course contrary to the Bible; for none but infidels have the impudence to pretend to know what is contrary to the will of God, without the Bible. They are ready to acknowledge, at any time, that to hold a neighbor in slavery is sin, and they insist that they are conscientiously opposed to the principle!—And they will lament, as long and as loud as you can have patience to hear them, that such an evil should exist among us: If you enquire how they can live in a sin to which they are so conscientiously opposed; they will tell you a great deal about necessity, and their unfortunate situation. But lest their having nothing better than the "*tyrant's plea*," should make you question their religion, they will undertake to prove to you from the Bible that it is no sin at all; and of course, so far as religion consists in being conscientious, they have even more of it than the scriptures require. It appears too, that the sole object of their efforts to make the Apostles dumb on the subject of slavery, is to prove by their dumbness, that to live in what they acknowledge to be a sin, is really no sin. They are willing to be shamefully inconsistent with themselves, they are willing that the Apostles should be like those watchmen whom the Prophet Isaiah styles dumb dogs that cannot

bark; they are willing to risk the consequence of dying without repentance, and without asking forgiveness of an acknowledged sin; but they are not willing to part with their slaves.*

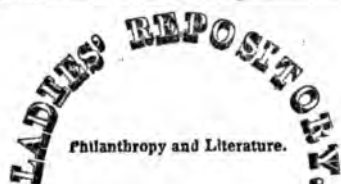
*To appeal to the law of Moses to justify slavery, as it exists among us, betrays either great ignorance of that law, or great want of common honesty. The term "slave" is not found in the Old Testament, excepting, in Jer. 2. 14. and there it is a mere *supplement* inserted by the translators. It is useless to labor, as some have done, to prove that the lust for slave-holding did exist in Israel; and that they sometimes deprived their neighbors of their just freedom.—The very threatenings of God's wrath, on account of that sin, sufficiently establishes the fact. But to make the wickedness of the church the interpreter of the Bible, or the rule of our faith, is setting up a worse pope than the one at Rome. By attending to Lev. 25. and Deut. 15. &c., we may ascertain what kind of servitude the law allowed in Israel. It appears from these, and other passages, to have been common, both for Israelites and Heathens, to become poor, and to be sold. But there was to be a great difference between them. The Hebrew servants must not be ruled with rigour; that is, they must not be put to drudgery or menial offices. They must be as companions in the family; or as hired servants or sojourners. They must not serve more than six years: In the seventh year, and in the year of jubilee, they must go out free, liberally furnished by their masters. But the bond servant, from the Heathen, might be made to serve with rigour—He might be sold or inherited, as any possession or property; and he must serve until the year of jubilee. But how are we to understand (Lev. 25. 46.) "they shall be your bond men forever." All, except Universalists, understand "forever," as a definite term, whether it mean eternity, or a limited portion of time. If it be here used to define the duration of this statute, it means the whole of the Jewish dispensation; but if it define the length of the bond man's service, it means the period of servitude which the law of Moses prescribed (viz.) fifty years; or from one jubilee to another. That the year of jubilee, cleared the land of every thing like bondage, will be admitted, by every one who is not the dupe of a theory or something worse. "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man to his possession, and ye shall return every man to his family." (Lev. 25. 10.) It was required (Isa. 5. 6.) that all bonds of wickedness should be loosed, and that the heavy burdens should be undone, that the oppressed should go free, and that every yoke should be broken. This jubilee which commenced on the day of atonement, was the type of that acceptable year of the Lord, which was to be ushered in by the Messiah's great atonement, when the gospel was to be preached to every creature, proclaiming spiritual liberty to all the captives of sin, and the opening of the prison doors to all that were bound. It is not strange that the Old Testament abounds with threatenings against those who would not, when they heard the sound of the jubilee trumpet, break every yoke. Such men were doing what they could to make the jubilee a false type of

the gospel jubilee. They were holding up to the world a heresy in regard to the merit of Messiah's atonement, and the extent to which salvation should be offered to sinners.

There was another regulation which prevented the land of Canaan from wearing the gloom of a land of bondage. The law of circumcision and the passover required of the Israelites, that the man bought with money should be admitted to the ordinances; unless, perhaps, he refused or was somehow disqualified. In that case, he was cut off from the congregation of Israel. A man who became a proselyte of righteousness, by admission to these ordinances, was to all intents and purposes an Israelite. He was a child of Abraham, a servant of the living God, and an heir of the promises.

It is to this change in the condition of a heathen, that allusion is made by the term adoption, which, like most technical terms in the New Testament, is Jewish in its origin, and is to be explained by a reference to the law and customs of Moses. Whenever the bond man was proselyted, he was entitled to all the privileges of a Hebrew servant. The Apostle (Rom. c. 8. v. 15) seems to compare the case of christians, who go back to the law for justification, to that of a proselyted servant, who by apostasy from the religion of Abraham, is thrown back into the state of a bondman.—"Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear." Thus it appears, that excepting when persevering enmity to the God of Israel kept the bondman in bondage, a bondman according to the law of Israel was rarely seen; a slave never.

It would often be amusing, if it excited no feelings inconsistent with amusement, to hear one who is a slaveholder from covetousness, appeal to the Jewish law. When you introduce the subject of slavery, he will assure you, that "there is no difference between us as to principle." If you insist there is considerable difference, at least as to practice, he will remind you that slavery is a very delicate subject—one on which it is not prudent to talk much. If you contend that it is not more imprudent to talk about a thing than to practice it every day, he will quote Lev. 25, 46, as the charter under which he holds his slaves, and perhaps remind you that this is that ancient law, under which David, and some of the best of men lived, and perhaps inform you, that it was veneration for that ancient law, which induced him to practice somewhat differently from that principle in our venerated declaration of independence, [viz:] "that all men are born equally free." Ask him how he can live in the neglect of circumcision and the passover, and he will tell you that these things belong to the law of Moses, and that law is abrogated. Ask him why the baptism of slaves produces no change in their situation, contrary to the spirit of the Jewish law, and why they are never gladdened with the sound of the jubilee trumpet, he will tell you again, with considerable surprise at your ignorance, that these things belonged to the law of Moses, and that law was abrogated long ago. If you inquire how then, as an honest man, he can appeal to an abrogated law for authority to hold his fellow men in slavery, he will tell you with some warmth, that his slaves cost him money, and that they are his property by the laws of the land, and no man shall take them from him. Thus when the ostensible reason fails, you will get the true one.



PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

FREE COTTON SOCIETY.

Our friends of the Philadelphia Free Cotton Society, still hold steadily on in their course of usefulness, noiseless, but gradually enlarging the bounds of their practical utility. Our hearts are much with them, and we earnestly hope their designs may prosper to the extent of their wishes.

BENEVOLENT EDUCATION SOCIETY.

The object of the association, "for the instruction of colored women," which has been recently organized among some of the females of Philadelphia, is a highly commendable one, and we do most heartily wish them encouragement and success. It gives us so much pleasure to know of any efforts made to rescue this long injured race from the thrall of ignorance and debasement, that prejudice has so unkindly cast around them, we cannot do otherwise than bestow our cordial approbation upon such a scheme. It is gratifying too to know, that they who have come forward upon this mission of benevolence, are among the youthful of our sex;—some of them just entering upon a world whose pleasures yet wear to them an aspect of dream-like beauty, and who have never themselves tasted of the bitterness of life, that experience should teach them compassion for the hard lot of others. It is a token of better days for the children of Africa, when such as these will voluntarily resign a portion of that time which youth too often devote merely to selfish and transitory enjoyment, to what many would think the dull and patience-wearing task of infusing into their benighted minds the elementary principles of knowledge. We hope, and believe, that their labour of benevolence will be rewarded by its usefulness to themselves. Occasional employment in the manner they have chosen, is well calculated to subdue the restlessness of vagrant imaginations, and to discipline the mind to its high and true standard of enjoyment and usefulness.

A letter from one of the members of the Ladies' Free Cotton Society, dated 1st mo. 11th, 1831, informs that many articles are now manufactured in Philadelphia, from free cotton, and sold at cheaper rates than heretofore. This furnishes satisfactory evidence that a demand, suf-

ficient to effect a *ready sale*, will soon enable the advocates of this cause to come into market upon at least as good terms as others possibly can. Perseverance will certainly ensure success.

CONSUMERS.

"The enormous crimes and miseries inseparable from the system of slave cultivation have at length been fully exposed; henceforth the guilty responsibility of slave-holding rests with the consumer of slave produce. Let conscience therefore do her office, and fix the conviction of blood guiltiness in our own bosoms."

That if there were no consumers of slave produce there would be no slaves, is an axiom too self-evident to the meanest capacity, to require us to use a single argument in its demonstration. But that the class of consumers share equally in the guilt of slavery with those who are the more immediate upholders of the system, will not probably, by the multitude, be so readily admitted. Even while they acknowledge themselves to be the main supporters of this scheme of oppression, they would exonerate themselves from any portion of its turpitude; as if it were possible for them to be innocent of a crime of which they are wilfully the cause! Can they employ another in the commission of evil, enjoy the advantage of his villiany, and yet suppose that the stain of iniquity clings only to him who was but the agent of their will? Were they disinterested reasoners, we think such would not be their decision. Their own hands do not, it is true, wield the blood extorting lash, or rivet the fetter, but they know that it is done by others, in order to afford at the cheapest rate the luxuries which they will neither resign, nor make one exertion to obtain from the hands of freemen. They have no hesitation in branding the trafficker in human flesh with the stigma of shame and cruelty; but while they would not for the universe engage personally in the exercise of so much barbarity, they will not relinquish one single iota of the comforts it procures for them. Is this humanity? Is such fastidiousness the result of consistency;—or has it not rather, if fairly examined, its root in mere selfishness? Their education has unfitted them for mingling actively in scenes of cruelty, they would sicken and shudder at the sight of wantonly shed blood, and the agonizing cries of a breaking heart would frighten sleep from their pillows, or were like a haunting spirit to their dreams. Is it so vastly meritorious, then, to consign to other hands what would be revolting to their feelings? Or may such sensibility claim its spring from the nobler principles of beneficence and justice, while they un-

hesitatingly receive from the hands of another, that which they have not *nerve* enough to obtain for themselves? Let them remember when they execrate the enormities of the slave system, that it is themselves who hold out the inducements for their perpetration. Guilty as the slave holder may be, let them not flatter themselves that he alone is guilty. To them the criminality and hideousness of slavery are clearly discernable. But he is mentally benighted. The bribe which they have given him, the unrighteous mammon, hath "perverted his judgment." He is compassed about with the iron bands of prejudice,—he fancies that to break the fetters of his slaves would be to insure his own ruin.—But it is the purchasers of his ill gotten produce who have woven around him this filmy web of prejudice. Let them but make it his interest to be just, and his moral perceptions will be clear as the day light. Emancipation will no longer appear to him a visionary scheme, ruinous and impracticable. His opinions will be grounded on wiser and juster reasoning, and he will make haste to render back their liberty to those from whom he has so long withheld it. He who clings with so tenacious a grasp to his gathered stores of human wealth, while we hate his crime, may claim our pity for his self delusion and his unhappy situation. But what have those to advance in behalf of their heartless conduct, who, with the full light of conviction around them, obstinately persist to abet him in his error? Nothing, absolutely nothing, beyond the miserable and even criminal plea of self-convenience, or a disinclination to encounter a trivial portion of salutary self-denial!—And they, who can so lightly weigh their own gratification against the intolerable anguish of their sister's lot,—who count the sacrifice of a few paltry luxuries, too vast a ransom for the redemption of thousands and tens of thousands of their fellow creatures from a fate of servitude and darkness, are the good, the amiable, and the gentle of the earth. Such a maze of inconsistency is the human heart! We could fling away the pen and weep in very shame and bitterness for the hard-heartedness of our sex. One would suppose that the bare knowledge of the terrible price at which those cherished comforts have been procured, would cause a woman to turn shuddering and loathingly away as though they were infected with a taint of blood. And the curse of blood is upon them! Though the dark red stain may not be there visibly, yet the blood of all the many thousands of the slain who have died amid the horrors and loathsomeness of the slave ship—been hurled by capricious cruelty to the yawning wave, or sprang to its bosom in the madness of their proud

dispair—of those who have pined away to death beneath the slow tortures of a broken heart, who have perished beneath the tortures of inventive tyranny, or on the ignominious gibbet—all this lies with a fearful weight upon this most foul and unnatural system, and that insatiable thirst for luxury and wealth in which it first originated and by which it is still perpetuated.

THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY ON THE FEMALE CHARACTER.

This is not one of the least important points of view, in which we are all called upon to examine the effects of slavery. On the right formation of the female character depends so much not only of her own happiness, but of the well-being of all who are nearly connected with her, that whatever circumstances possess the power of moulding her mind and habits, imperatively demand a careful examination. The debasing effects of slavery on those who are its victims, are too painfully obvious to require a portraiture. On these therefore we need not dwell, but may turn at once to their fairer, and more fortunate sisters.

It is on all sides acknowledged that the domestic circle is the proper sphere of woman. We do not say that her talents and influence should be confined within these boundaries, but however beneficially they may be felt abroad, if homebred usefulness forms no part of her character, be her claims on our respect and admiration what they may, she fails of one half of her perfection. A knowledge of 'household' good is one of the most essential branches of female education. "I will venture to affirm," says the venerable Hannah More, "that let a woman know what she *may*, yet if she knows not this, she is ignorant of the most indispensable, the most appropriate branch of female knowledge." It is not in the fair, fluttering thing of fashion, the beautiful wonder and admiration of the hour, lovely though she may be, and possibly even gifted with high attainments of mind and character, that we are to look for the true standard of female excellence. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon," is not a more undeniable allegation, than that woman cannot at once satisfy the demands of fashionable and domestic life. They are wholly incompatible with each other, and whatever is yielded to the importunity of the one, detracts from the power of satisfying the claims of the other. In deciding this destiny of our country-women in unfitting them for the calm pleasures of domestic life, and leading them into the tumultuous vortex of folly and vanity—in giving them an education of showy accomplishments, instead of cultivated minds, and well regulated tempers—in teaching them the wish to shine, rather than the ambition to

be useful—the desire of wealth and expensive pleasures, rather than intellectual advancement—in leading them to prefer the uneasy excitement of a crowd, to the quiet enjoyment of books, retirement, and rational conversation—the flattery and admiration of the many, to the sober approbation of the few—in teaching them to consult rather their inclinations than their duty—to follow the dictates of fancy or caprice instead of reflective judgment—we believe the slave system will be found a powerful agent. Those who have been accustomed from youth to the ready service of dependents, rarely acquire habits of industry and extensive usefulness. The mind as well as the body sinks into habits of listless indolence, and is suffered to remain inactive and unoccupied, or fritters away its noble energies in the trifling excitements of vanity and fashion.—Wealth becomes of immense importance as the means of supporting her extravagance and of rivalling or eclipsing her compeers in their love of folly; her responsibility—her high nature as a rational creature are almost forgotten or unheeded; anxious rather to outshine her equals in their petty distinctions of splendour and display, than to raise those who are beneath her to a higher standard of intellectual and moral worth, she learns to trifle away the loan of her existence, and to waste in selfish gratifications, the thousands that have been wrung with the most odious injustice from the hand of unrewarded toil. Thus with a heart undisciplined by self control, a mind enervated by frivolous pursuits, and a temper accustomed to the indulgence of all its humours, how frail is the bark of her happiness! How imperfectly is she calculated to fill the station and perform the duties assigned her by the hand of Providence. In prosperity, a thing, it may be, of beauty and grace, but of unsubstantial endowments—in adversity without support, and without resource, and in neither performing the duties of a consistent christian. Nor is the evil we speak of confined to that district to which slavery is limited. The frequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the different states, gives a ready transmission to manners and habits. The ladies of the north imitate those of the south, and a fondness for show, ornament and extravagance, almost to the exclusion of a desire for the better wealth of substantial acquirements and moral excellence, invades all classes of society.

MENTAL METEMPSYCHOSIS.

Could we but persuade those with whom we plead, in behalf of the slave, to imagine themselves for a few moments in his very circumstances, to enter into his feelings, comprehend

all his wretchedness, transform themselves mentally into his very self, they would not surely long withhold their compassion. Let them feel the heart-brokenness of being separated from all they love—take the long last glance at all that is dear to them, and while the brain is reeling and the hot brow throbbing with agony, know that their sufferings excite only the heartless jest, or the brutal curse—let the fetter lie with its wearing weight upon their wrists, as they are driven off like cattle to the market, and the successive strokes of the keen thong fall upon their shoulders till the flesh rises in long welts beneath it, and the spouting blood follows every blow—let them go day after day with their sick hearts to their unceasing and hopeless toil, fainting beneath the hot sun, or exposed to all the pitiless beating of the elements—let them yield up their hearts again for a while to the gentle influences of affection, till they feel almost as if there was yet something like to happiness in their lot, and then know suddenly that they are to gaze no more upon their beloved objects forever—let them enter into the desolateness of that moment; stand alone and forsaken in the world; without religion, without a friend in earth or heaven, to whom they may turn for consolation in their hour of trial; with no kind accents to sooth, no hope to cheer them—oh! would they but endeavor to realize the bitterness of such a lot, surely, surely, they would rush to the rescue of the thousands who are agonizing beneath its endurance.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

SADNESS.

Shine not on me oh, moon! with the weak light
Of thy still beauty; mocking the turmoil
Of this tumultuous and jarring world
With thy serenity, as if she were
Thy satellite, and thou did'st deem it scorn
To let her passions move thee. I am sad—
And how may I have fellowship with thee,
Thou thing of perfect brightness? If the clouds
That sometimes pass athwart thy lovely brow,
And shadow it as with a pensive thought,
Were round about thee now, with thy mild veil.
I would not turn from gazing;—but, away,—
Thou art too brilliant for a tearful eye!
And mine is dim in sympathy and shame,
For the heart broken, and the guilty ones,
Of my star-banner'd land.

The blessed breeze!

How most deliciously its coolness comes,
With its soft stealing touch to charm away
The slow dull fever of my heavy brow;
And as I close beneath it my wet lids
To dry away their tears.—Yet isn't not strange,
How lightly it bears its load of sighs!
Why 'tis from the soft south—the guilty south!
Where those who should lift up a free, clear brow
To the brave light of Heaven, go bending down

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

The clouded forehead, neath the heavy shame
Of painful fetters, to the very grave.

How, then, light thing of music, how can'st
thou

Come thus, all gladness, from the burial place
Of the hearts best affections? Did'st thou not
A moment check the fluttering of thy wing,
To listen to the voice of woman's grief,
Lamenting for her lost ones?—Hence with
thee?—

Thou seem'st to me as thou wert made of sighs,
And the beseeching breath of wasted prayers,
Poured out to hearts that knew not how to
feel!

Wo for man's selfishness! I will go in
And cover up my brow in the dull light
As with a mourner's garment.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE TEARS OF WOMAN.

AN ALLEGORY.

The Angel of Justice stood before the
throne of the Most High. Father, said
she, behold the creatures whom thou hast
made. Lo! the children of earth have
lifted up their hearts to oppression, their
hands are full of wrong and violence,
and they have laden their brother with
heavy fetters, that he might be to them
a bondman forever. I called unto them
—I warned them of the evil of their
way, but they refused to hearken to my
voice; give me therefore my sword, oh,
Father! that I may smite them from be-
fore thy face.

Oh, not yet my sister! exclaimed the
pleading tones of a sweet voice:—and
the young Angel of Philanthropy bowed
himself beside her, and looked up from
the midst of his fair curls with a face filled
with beseeching earnestness. Not yet,
beloved sister, said he, do thou unsheath
thy sword for vengeance. I will descend
to the earth by thy side and plead with
the erring one for his unhappy brother.
I will win for thee an offering of peni-
tence from the hearts of the guilty, and
with thy blade break asunder the heavy
fetters of the slave. The eyes of the
beautiful boy were suffused with tears
while he addressed her, and mercy bent
over him as he turned towards the heav-
enly throne, joining her appealing glance
to his petition.

It was well nigh to eventime. The
sunlight fell in yellow gleamings through
the branches on the gliding waves of the
stream beside which the Angel of Justice
stood leaning on her empty scabbard.—
She was watching with a calm eye the
eager and untiring efforts of philanthropy,
as he strove to free the shackled limbs
of a sad group who wept before him.—

He called on man to aid him in his exer-
tions. He pointed to the threatening
attitude of Justice, as she lifted up her
stately brow and stretched out her hand
with a stern glance towards the sun,
whose setting was to be *her* signal. But
prejudice and selfishness were strong in
the human heart, and they to whom the
earnest appeal was sent, gazed on idly for
a few moments, and departed. Already
the hand of Justice was extended to re-
sume her blade, and her eye bent in
lowering anger on the impenitent oppres-
sor. Yet still the unwearied boy, with
the passionate earnestness of approaching
despair, steadily persisted in his exertions,
though his eye at times grew dim, and
his heart sick, as his repeated entreaties
were again and again answered by the
same cold repulse. Then he called on
woman. He pointed to her sister—suffer-
ing—degraded—miserable—and stretch-
ing out her manacled hands to *her* for suc-
cour. The call was heard. Slowly, and
with uncertain steps, and eyes half avert-
ed from the sad spectacle before her,
woman approached him. Her heart was
touched with the wrongs of the injured
ones, but she felt that her arm was weak
and her strength powerless; and bowing
down her head, she wept in pity and
sorrow over the objects of her compassion.
But her aid was not in vain. The tears
she shed rusted the chains on which they
fell!—and the exulting shout of the young
Angel, as he again snatched up the sword
of Justice, rung like a victorious battle
cry upon the ear of the oppressor.

MARGARET.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THINK OF THE SLAVE.

Think of the slave in your hours of glee,
Ye who are treading life's flowery way;
Nought but its rankling thorns has he,
Nought but the gloom of its wintry day.

Think of the slave in your hours of woe—
What are your sorrows to that he bears?
Quenching the light of his bosom's glow,
With a life-long stain of gushing tears.

Think of the slave in your hours of prayer,
When wordly thoughts in your hearts are dim;
Offer your thanks for the bliss ye share,
But pray for a brighter lot for him.

AGNES.

FEMALE SCHOOL IN LIBERIA.—The Fe-
male Colonization Society of Richmond and
Manchester has taken incipient measures to es-
tablish a *Female School* in Liberia. Had it not
better establish a similar school for free colored
females, in Richmond and its vicinity?

Liberator.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

It is thy favorite season, Coz. The gorgeous clouds of sunset have almost departed, and the air has grown dim amidst its perfect tranquillity, like a starry eye whose brightness hath been shadowed by the depth of a delicious feeling.—Come let us go abroad and stand upon that old bridge thou wot'st of, where we may watch the still shadows that lie on the smooth deep places of the stream, and the flashing ripples that go on singing to the gentle light. Or, if thou sayest, we will take the wood path, that leads over the scattered stones of yonder drawling rivulet, to where the green sod slopes away nearly to the waters edge from the heaped up pile of webs, and the old half burnt tree stands in its bleakness like a solitary watcher in the solemn twilight. Is it not pleasant to be so together in the gentle hush, while indistinct shadowings of happiness come over the heart, like the soft dimness upon the clinquant waters?—and, look, friend, seest thou not yonder bright spark—the star thou lovest—a beautiful and lonely thing in the blue heavens, shining like a far seen beacon, to summon all hearts to the gathering place of prayer! The wild bird catches the light of its pale beams as he hurries homeward to his nest, and its first twinkling ray is the signal that

Summon's "home the bee,"
And sets the weary laborer free

from his day long task of industry. Oh, there is gladness of spirit in the twilight hour to those who are indeed free, and who may eat in fearlessness of heart, amidst their band of loved and loving ones, the bread, which they have wrung with a strong sinew from the earth.—What matters it that, from the rising to the setting of the sun, they may have bent their limbs to the service of another? The twilight brings them their reward, and they go onwards to their humble homes with an unstooping mein, and the blessed consciousness that no hand dare invade the privileges of their home sanctuary. But the slave—how may he lift up a glad eye to yon bright messenger? A release from toil, if release indeed it brings him, lifts not the heavy yoke of servitude from off his neck, nor gives to his heart one delightful throb of security and happiness. He too may have a home, a wife, and a smiling group of young loving ones, yet happy amid their childish ignorance, who have been wont to

meet his returning step with the foud name of father. But the threshold and the hearth stone that he left at the early dawn, surrounded by faces of glad innocence, may now be stripped and desolate, or echo back from its solitary walls only the sad voice of maternal lamentation. He knows not but to-morrow's sun may find him a far distant wanderer, torn away from all the breathing affections of his bosom, and transferred to another master and another scene, as reckless as though his heart were pulseless as the unsuffering clod. May the peacefulness of the pure twilight impart its tranquillity to his bosom—or sooth with its tender light the darkness of his fate? Will it teach him to forget that he is a slave?—a wronged, despised, degraded slave! Alas the scar of his fetters is too deeply printed in his soul, and the dim air cannot cover it with its shadow. Let us go home, sweet cousin, and loose the memory of the beautiful twilight;—for the thought of my country's shame and guilt hath bro't a deeper sickness to my heart than the unstirred quietness may minister to; and I can revel no longer in the luxury of happy dreams. ELA.

SELECTIONS.

From the Herald of Truth.

The present British Ministry are understood to be pledged to promote three great and important changes: A retrenchment, a reform in parliament, and the abolition of colonial slavery. In a political point of view, they are all objects of great importance to the character and prosperity of the British nation. A reform in parliament, which would insure a more equal and uniform representation, would promote the speedy accomplishment of the other two, by rendering the house of commons the proper organ of public opinion. There is no doubt that the voice of the nation is decidedly in favor, both of retrenchment in the expences of the government, and the abolition of colonial slavery. The meetings in England and Ireland, for petitioning parliament to abolish slavery in the British colonies, attest the strong feeling which pervades the country on this subject.

From the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter.

"The annual meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, was held on the 21st of August, 1830, W. Crawford, esq. in the chair, and was most numerous and respectfully attended. So

intense was the interest which it excited, that twice the number of persons whom it was possible to accommodate, applied for admission.—The chairman said, they were assembled to petition parliament, to name a day when slavery should cease. For his own part, he was utterly opposed to the recognition of the slave-holder's right of property; and yet he was willing to tell the legislature, that there was no pecuniary burden he would not bear, rather than that our unfortunate brethren should continue in slavery." "We are told," said the rev. Mr. Burnett, "not to meddle with vested rights: I have a sacred feeling about vested rights; but when vested rights become vested wrongs, I am less scrupulous about them."

"I did not come here, said Mr. O'Connell, to argue the question, whether man may be the slave of his fellow man; whether a man born of the same common parents, formed by the same great Creator, and redeemed by the blood of the same common Saviour, may become the goods and chattels of another. Slavery is not an offence to be tolerated; it is a foul crime, to be abolished. It is the duty of every man to unite in extirpating this crime. The great majority of the English nation are disposed to countenance it no longer. In Ireland, this hostile feeling begins to spread far and wide. Let it not sink into inertness, but be brought into energetic action, and conveyed to the legislature in a tone that cannot be mistaken, and with a voice that will not be unheard. The value of associated exertion is well known in Ireland. I am anxious it should not be less successful in this, than it has been in a different cause, but that he who has liberated himself, may have the pleasure of striking the chain from others. Mr. O'Connell attacked the conduct of the U. States with great vehemence. "Here, from this tribunal," said he, "I raise my voice against the American independent, and I tell him he is a hypocrite. I stain his star-spangled standard, that never was struck down in battle. I read, in his bill of rights, his declaration of independence, that man has an indefeasible right to freedom. He does not say the white man or the black man, the man of this country or of that, but emphatically *man*. And when I read this, I turn to the American, and I tell him, that he has declared to God and man a lie, and before God and man I arraign him as a hypocrite. All Neptune's ocean would not wash out from America this stain."

"The annual meeting of the Bradlington Anti-Slavery Society took place on the 27th of August, Archdeacon Wringham in the chair. The object of the Society was declared to be the complete emancipation of 800,000 of their fellow creatures from the chains of slavery and oppression; and petitions to that effect were prepared for signatures, in the hope that the great moral Governor of the world would follow with his blessing, the efforts of this and kindred associations. Mr. Sykes, M. P. attended on the occasion, as he had done the day before at a still larger meeting at Driffield, and laid before the assembly a remarkably able and luminous exposition of the whole question. To transcribe his speech, would be to give, in a succinct and impressive form, the substance of many a lengthened statement, spread over the pages of many a weary reporter. The evils of colonial slavery, the reforms proposed with a view to its extinction, the defective manner in which those reforms have been executed even

at a show of compliance, has been conducted in the chartered colonies, are sketched with great clearness and force, and with strict regard to accuracy."

"On the 22nd of September, 1830, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds, and its vicinity, was held in the spacious area of the Coloured Cloth Hall, the mayor, Christopher Beckett, esq. in the chair, for the purpose of considering the propriety of an address to the king, and a petition to both houses of parliament for the total abolition of negro slavery. The number assembled on the occasion amounted to about 6000 persons, and among them were Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Brougham. Mr. Duncorbe and Mr. Bethell were necessarily absent, but had expressed their warm approbation of the object of the meeting."

"A highly respectable meeting was held at Devises, on the 17th of September, J. S. Fuller, esq. in the chair, to consider the subject of negro slavery; at which there was a display of energy, both intellectual and moral, which has seldom been surpassed. It would scarcely be possible, without transcribing into our pages the whole of the interesting proceedings of the day, to do any thing like justice to those who, on that occasion stood forward to advance the cause of the oppressed slave."

With these evidences of the feelings and opinions of the people of England before us, (and much more of the same character might be given) we think we may reasonably conclude, that in the abolition of slavery in the colonies, the present parliament and ministry would accomplish the general desire of the nation. There is no doubt that such a measure would be an advantage to the mother country, and the means of promoting the ultimate prosperity of the West India Islands.

There is no question in political economy more fully demonstrated, than that slave labour in all countries, and under every circumstance, is less productive, and can never compete with free labour. The duties imposed in Great Britain on East India sugars, which operate as bounties on the growth and produce of the West India Islands, are founded on a knowledge of this fact, that the produce of slave labour is dearer than that of freemen, and requires the aid of bounties to protect it in the British market. But if the sugar colonies were cultivated by free labourers the case would be widely different. The profits of the owners of the soil would be more than doubled, and bounties would no longer be required to protect their produce.—Brian Edwards the historian, though he was an advocate for slavery, has proved, that the sugar plantations do not, and cannot support themselves under their present system of slavery. They are

supported, and kept up by frequent and heavy drafts upon English capitals. It is then the interest of the West India planters, as well as of Great Britain, to listen to the claims of justice and humanity. We think the time is not far distant, when slavery will cease in the British colonies.

But when will it be abolished in this country? When will the stain of slavery be eradicated from the soil of liberty and equal rights? Alas! "we see it, but not now, we behold it, but not near."

BLACK LIST

ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING!

If the following circumstance will not convince the American people that the Slave trade is carried on in the United States, is possessed of the same atrocious features that are attributed to the Foreign traffic in human blood, they must, indeed, be blinded by prejudice, or exceedingly averse to reflecting upon the subject.

Sometime in the latter part of the last month, an attempt was made to kidnap a free man of color, named Benedict Herbert, by a few of the slave traders, (*in connexion with a villainous black man,*) in Washington. They proceeded to his dwelling, a little out of the city, in the evening, with a constable, under the pretence of arresting him upon a charge of theft. Instead of taking him before a magistrate, however, as they told him they were about to do, they conveyed him immediately to one of the slave jails, where he was handcuffed with a short chain passing between the wrists, and lodged in the garret of a three story house. He was to be taken southward, with a number of others, the next morning. But, resolving to release himself from this predicament, *or perish in the attempt*, he tied several blankets and quilts together with his teeth and hands, (*the latter being but a few inches apart,*) and fastening the same to a piece of a bedstead, placed across the window in the inside, thus descended, AT LEAST THIRTY FEET! and made his escape. When he got about half way down, (as he supposes,) one of the blankets broke, or a knot slipped, and he fell on the pavement, which injured him so much that he is yet very lame.

I have not been able to procure the evidence of *white persons*, so as to prove the facts here related, as the law would require in a court of justice. The names of the principal kidnappers are therefore suppressed. But I am fully satisfied of the truth of the statement; which I have from the lips of the man, himself, upon whom the outrage was committed, and which is fully corroborated by other circumstantial testimony.—

He states that the name of the black scoundrel, who assisted in the nefarious transaction is BEN BELL.

How many poor wretches are abducted in this way, God only knows!—But if Congress do not soon turn its attention to the subject, the members of that body will richly deserve all the approbrium that a virtuous and truly republican people can heap upon them. The poor man who now suffers from this attempt to deprive him of his liberty, should receive a pension, for his more than Spartan courage. He says he will faithfully serve a man *seven years*, who will prosecute the villains to conviction.

SHOOTING A SLAVE!!!

Americans!—Is it possible that such demoniac deeds as the following will *much longer* be tolerated in this Republic? Is it to uphold a system fraught with such horrible abuses, that the United States' troops are employed in patrolling the southern part of our country? (See page 176.) In short, *dare you say* that this is not true? We have *southern testimony* for it.—And the monster, never having doubted the *legality* of it, PUTS IN A PLEA OF RIGHT!!!

From the *New Orleans Advertiser*, Jan. 5.

"INCREDIBLE, YET TRUE!—*Criminal Court.*—The State vs. Francois B. Trepagnier.—This was a case wherein the defendant was accused of having cruelly punished a negro girl, named Mary, aged about ten years, and belonging to Mrs. Rest. The facts proved were, that Mr. Trepagnier fired a gun at the said slave, Mary, when she was on his plantation. The defence set up was, that he had a right to fire on any negro or negroes when flying from his pursuit.—In his defence the accused further stated, that he had been informed by a free white person that one of Mrs. Rest's slaves, a run away, was on his plantation; that he went out in the morning and found the said slave, Mary, and that on bringing her to his house he several times told her that if she attempted to run away, he would shoot her; that after he got her home she ran from him; he called her to stop, still she kept running, when he fired on her, not to kill but to wound her. He would not deny the fact that he had shot her: he conceived that he had a right to do it, when he ordered a slave to stop and obedience was not given to his orders.—The court, after explaining the law to the accused, was of opinion that he was entirely guilty, as charged, and that the same opinion would have been rendered, had not the accused in his defence admitted the fact. After passing such observations as the case required in an able and just summary, the Court sentenced Mr. Trepagnier to pay a fine of two hundred dollars and cost of prosecution."

The following *murderous atrocity* equals almost any thing that we have ever heard respecting West Indian, or Spanish American cruelty! And what was the occasion of this cold-blooded butchery?—Simply a *suspicion* that an insurrection was contemplated!!! Let us hear no more of the the republicanism, or the christian-

ity, or the humanity of slave holders, who tolerate such horrible conduct as this. The paragraph is copied from a Southern paper.

"Milton, (N. C.) Dec. 25.—We have learned from authority of the most undoubted kind, that the inhabitants of Newbern, Tarborough, Hillsborough, and their vicinities, are considerably excited with the anticipation of insurrectional movements among their slaves. Our informant, just from the latter place, states that considerable consternation exists among its citizens: that they have provided arms and ammunition, and are vigilantly patrolling every exposed situation. The inhabitants of Newbern being advised of the assemblage of sixty armed slaves, in a swamp in their vicinity, the military were called out, and surrounding the swamp, killed the whole party. It appears, from various rumours, that Christmas morning had been selected as the period of rebellious motions."—*Roanoke Advertiser*.

THE FREE STATES "NOT INTERESTED."

The two paragraphs below, are copied from a late newspaper, and will furnish a striking comment upon the doctrine, held up by many, that the free States have no interest in the question of abolishing slavery.

"Insurrection of Slaves.—We notice in the Southern papers several hints at a dark plot which spread some terror through certain parts of Louisiana; but Southern papers are particularly sensitive on this point, and often omit to notice such occurrences, even when they happen in their immediate vicinities. On this subject we find the following paragraph in the report of the Major General commanding the army of the United States, to the Secretary of War:—

"In consequence of the application of the Governor of Louisiana, the troops stationed at Baton Rouge, and at the posts within Louisiana, had been directed to co-operate with the authorities of the state in suppressing any insurrectionary movements that might be discovered.—A battalion of the 4th Regiment of Infantry assembled at New Orleans, and made a demonstration along the banks of the Mississippi, which produced a salutary effect."

DR. ALLEN, of Louisiana, has been sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, for kidnapping slaves.

LIBERAL SENTIMENTS!—The Wilmington (N. C.) Journal contains an article, advancing the following enlightened opinions:—

"By the bye—what kind of charity or policy is that, which leads some of our white citizens to take pains to instruct colored people how to read? The thing is wrong. It is demanded neither by religion or common sense. It is forbidden by every dictate of prudence and self-preservation. The practice ought to be discountenanced."

Following up the principle, here recognized, the Legislature of that State has recently passed an act to prohibit the teaching of slaves to read or write. The same enlightened body lately attempted to bring a "Libel Suit" against our friend Swain, of the Greensboro' Patriot, for

some remarks on this subject,—but failed to accomplish it.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

The annexed account of the capture of a Slave, is taken from an official statement, recently published by the English Board of Admiralty.—And this will, no doubt, be hailed by many, as further evidence that the devilish traffic is likely soon to be abolished by the measures now in operation!!!—

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, NOV. 23.

Captain Gorton, of his Majesty's ship Atholl, has transmitted to the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, a letter from Commander William Broughton, of his Majesty's sloop Primrose, to Captain Gordon, dated at the Island of Ascension, 5th October, 1830, of which the following is an extract:

Proceeding in execution of your orders of the 3d September, I had the good fortune to fall in at 21. 30, P. M. on the 6th of that month, with the Spanish ship *Velos Passagero*, Jose Antonio de la Vega, master, from Whydah, bound to Havannah, pierced for 28 guns, but having only 20 mounted; and from the officer whom I sent on board not being allowed to examine her below, as usual, I concluded she had slaves on board. Finding that I had much the advantage of her in sailing, and wishing to avoid the effusion of blood by a night action with a vessel crowded with slaves, I remained by her until morning, when being within hail, and still resolutely refusing permission to search her, we opened our fire, which she returned immediately, the ships nearly touched each other: after the second broadside we laid her on board, and in ten minutes carried her, with a loss on our side of three killed and twelve wounded; the *Velos* had 46 killed and 20 wounded, out of a crew of as near as I could ascertain of 150 men of different nations, and having on board 555 slaves, five of whom were killed.

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TEN DOLLARS will be given, as a premium, over and above the market price, for Five Casks of Fresh Rice, of a good quality, raised by Free Labor, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next. (1831.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has, for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are, exclusively, the production of free labor.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

The "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION" is published monthly, in Washington and Baltimore, at *One Dollar per annum*, always to be paid in advance. Robert P. Anderson, Corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Eleventh street, west, in Washington, and William R. Jones, No. 18, Market street, Baltimore, are authorized to act as agents, in the absence of the Editor.

(33- The Office, in Washington, is at the corner of E. and 9th Streets.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

NO. 12. VOL. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MARCH, 1831.

[WHOLE NUMBER, 264, VOL. XI.]

Correspondents, and the publishers of periodical works who exchange with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, are requested to direct their letters, communications, and papers, in future, to *Washington, D. C.*

CLOSE OF THE VOLUME.

This number completes the eleventh volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. But as there is much interesting matter lying over, that should have been inserted, in order to keep up a regular chain of events, and should be connected with that which precedes it, the editor has determined to issue two or more supplements, to accompany this volume, and to be bound with it. These supplements will be furnished the subscribers gratuitously.

All who are willing to continue their patronage to the publication, are desired to be prompt in forwarding the amount of their subscriptions. The editor has suffered too much, to dally longer with those who neglect him. *The work will go on*—the friends of the cause need be under no apprehensions on that score; but they are strongly urged to furnish the means to make it more efficient and useful.

POSTAGE.

The postage of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is now the same as that of weekly newspapers. One cent and an half for each paper, is the highest that can be legally charged within the U. S. If the distance be less than one hundred miles, but one cent can be demanded. Postmasters will please attend to this notice. The Post-office in Washington forwards the paper under this regulation.

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY!

One of the most important articles that I present to the readers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, this month, is the following proposition, which first appeared in the "*Western Luminary*," published at Lexington, Ky. I shall not attempt a comment upon it.—For were I to do this, I should have room for nothing else! I will merely say, *It is a "glorious" movement—GOD SPEED IT.*

PROPOSALS.

Several citizens, slave-holders, under a full conviction that there are insurmountable obstacles to the general emancipation of the present generation of slaves, but, equally convinced of

the necessity and practicability of emancipating their future offspring, are desirous that a society be formed for the purpose of investigating and impressing these truths on the public mind as well by example as by precept, by joining themselves immediately, by mutual voluntary arrangement, under a well regulated system for gradual emancipation—such a system as they would recommend to their fellow citizens for adoption as the law of the land. In this view it is proposed to all slave-holders of every religion, opinion, or country, who are willing to abolish slavery by the gradual emancipation of the coming generation, and who are willing, as a pledge of their sincerity, to emancipate all slaves born their property hereafter, when they shall severally arrive at the age to be fixed on by compact, to form themselves into societies having these great and glorious objects in view. Persons inclined to make the experiment, will forward their names to the Publisher of the *Luminary*, Lexington. And so soon as the names of fifty slave-holders are obtained, a meeting will be notified for the purpose of forming an institution and organizing the society.

Since the foregoing was put in type, another number of the "*Luminary*" has been received, containing the following communication. *The society will be formed: AND SLAVERY WILL SOON BE ABOLISHED IN KENTUCKY.* This is AS CERTAIN AS ANY FUTURE EVENT:—and it is wholly attributable to the active philanthropy of the friends of our cause. May all who feel the glow of humanity and patriotism, strengthen the hands of those who devote themselves to it.

Mr. T. T. Skillman—I have been travelling for some time, as you know. I therefore have not read all the late essays in your paper on the subject of slavery. But I this day have read the Essay No. 6, and I heartily approve of the proposal there made. You may set me down as one of the fifty who will with all readiness of mind come into the arrangement. The proposal does not go far enough for me. But it is a maxim with me, if I cannot get people to go as far as I wish them, to go with them as far as they are willing to go, and help them to do all the good they are willing to do, whilst I leave myself free to go as much further as I choose. With joy I say therefore you may put me down as one of the fifty.

SAMUEL K. SNEAD.

February 26, 1831.

"ADVOCATES OF SLAVERY."

The editor of the *Liberator* retorts upon me for my critical distinction between "Slave-holders" and "Advocates of slavery." He insists that they are all blame-worthy—that "there is none innocent; no, not one." I admit they are all guilty; and I have no disposition to extenuate their guilt.

But I would observe that there are degrees of crime. Felons have, *legally*, the benefit of classification; and I would allow slaves equal privileges with them! Would not this be just, friend Garrison? I do not, myself, hold a very cordial "fellowship with slave owners" I would go as far with them as Christians were taught to go with "publicans and sinners;" but not much further.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Several interesting articles, relative to the abolition of slavery in this District, were intended for the present number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.—But, upon further reflection, I have concluded to postpone them a little longer, until the subject shall be taken up in good earnest, preparatory to a loud and general appeal to the people of the U. S. and their representatives in the next Congress. Then will be the time for action. Let every man, woman and child, throughout these States and Territories, make themselves heard upon the occasion.

RELIGIOUS PROFESSION!!!

One of the most objectionable articles, in relation to the education of coloured people, that I have ever met with in a professedly religious paper, is contained in a late number of the "*Southern Religious Telegraph*," published at Richmond, Virginia. This paper is edited by *A. Converse*, who is said to be a Presbyterian clergyman! How must the western Presbyterians, who are so nobly—*piously* labouring in the good cause of African improvement, blush with shame and indignation, on hearing such sentiments from one holding an exalted station within the pale of their communion! There is no use in mincing matters with men of this description. I boldly pronounce the opinion, that they possess little more true religion than Pagans. Such doctrines, advanced by men in high clerical offices, are calculated to operate as a disgrace to the church, and a curse to the cause of philanthropy. The darkness of heathen idolatry scarcely ever produced a more detestable species of sophism. Hear him!—

From the Southern Religious Telegraph, Feb. 12.

A NORTH CAROLINIAN ON TEACHING THE COLOURED PEOPLE.—A writer, whose article may be seen in another part of this paper, advocates the expediency and duty of teaching slaves and other colored persons to *read*, as a means of instructing them in the doctrines and precepts of christianity. Some time ago we were as decidedly in favour of this mode of teaching them as he is—but we have been led to doubt both the expediency and practicability of giving them this kind of learning. We have not room to day, to present our views fully on this subject—and we do not wish to have much debate upon it—nor *would we interrupt the efforts of those who re-*

and it as a duty to teach their servants to read the Bible.—We add but a few brief remarks.

1. Oral Instruction, in reading and expounding the Scriptures to servants, in a plain and practical manner, is the most direct way of giving them the knowledge, and of causing them to feel the sanctions of religion. Without this kind of instruction, given steadily and regularly, there is very little reason to expect that the knowledge of letters will be made to contribute to their spiritual improvement.

2. Teaching a servant to read, is not teaching him the religion of Christ. The great majority of the white people of our country are taught to read—but probably not one in five, of those who have the Bible, is a christian, in the legitimate sense of the term. If black people are as depraved and as averse to true religion as the white people are—and we know of no difference between them in this respect—teaching them to read the Bible will make christians of very few of them.

3. If christian masters were to teach their servants to read—we apprehend that they would not feel the obligation as they ought to feel it, of giving them oral instruction, and often impressing divine truth on their minds. We have known grey headed christians who appeared to feel that they had about done their duty to their servants, by merely inviting them, or giving them the opportunity, to attend religious worship in their families. And had they, in addition, taught them to read, we fear that they would have quieted their consciences with the belief that they had done quite enough for the salvation of their servants.—Do faithful parents treat their children in this way? Do they not require them to attend worship regularly morning and evening? Do they not often speak to them in accents of affection, to persuade them to attend to the things which concern their salvation? And do they not repeat these lessons of christian instruction from one week, month and year, to another? And ought not the christian master to adopt the same course, to save the souls of his servants?

4. If the free colored people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country. We would offer them no such inducement—for we believe it to be for their interest, in every respect, and for the benefit of their children, to cross the Atlantic and join the flourishing colony at Liberia.

5. A knowledge of letters and of all the arts and sciences, can not counteract the influences under which the character of the negro must be formed in this country. Placed as he is among a people with whom he can form no connections, among whom he can hold no office, he must, from the circumstances in which he is placed, be a degraded being. A white man, in similar circumstances, is the same servile creature. To meliorate, permanently, and elevate the condition of the negro—we must send him to a nation of his own colour, where he will learn the worth of character, and correct the servile, improvident habits, which are inseparable from his condition here.

6. It appears to us that a greater benefit may be conferred on the free coloured people, by planting good schools for them in Africa and encouraging them to remove there, than by giving them the knowledge of letters to make them contented in their present condition.

We repeat the remark—a shorter and more

direct course than teaching them to read, ought to be taken to give them the knowledge of God, and teach them to obey His commandments. This is indispensable to save their souls, and this must be done, whether they are taught to read or not, by oral instruction.

It appears that the remarks of "A North Carolinian," here adverted to, were elicited by a previous article, in kindred sentiment, inserted in the Telegraph. That article I have not seen. But a writer in a subsequent number, over the signature of "Justice!" (probably the author of the first,) undertakes to palliate and excuse the outrage upon christian feeling which was occasioned by the promulgation of such sentiments. The editor also made a few additional remarks upon the subject; but he neither retracted, nor manifested the least penitence, relative to his monstrous heresy. His correspondent would seem to be ashamed to make himself known, as the advocate of such oppressive doctrines. Not so with the editor. He valiantly doffs the clerical attire, openly arrays himself in the habiliments of tyranny, and proceeds to bind down his fellow man to the footstool of ignorance and degradation. To this charge he will no doubt plead innocence, as he recommends the "oral" instruction of the coloured race! Were we to search the records of the darkest period of Roman ecclesiastical despotism and cruelty, it is doubtful whether an edict or a sentence could be found based on a more obnoxious principle. If ever the hateful fiend of Priestcraft was fairly mounted on his Tartarean hobby, we have him before us. Oral instruction, merely, will do for the people of colour, according to the logic of this pious and learned Divine! I should like to know what kind of teaching they might expect at his hands. The principal text, or lesson, that he could consistently read them, would be, "Slaves [or Servants,] obey your masters." &c.

But I have neither patience or leisure to pursue this subject further. I have arraigned this "Priest" of ignorance and oppression before the bar of an enlightened people, and in their hands I leave him,—simply adding, that when we see the advocates of despotism, both in church and state,* combining to increase our country's moral

* Several of the southern state legislatures have recently been deeply engaged in devising measures to tighten the cords of despotism under which the colored population is groaning. I have before adverted to the proceedings in Louisiana and North Carolina. In a late Richmond paper we find the following notice of a bill, which was introduced in the Virginia house of delegates, last winter, and rejected by a majority of but one vote! In the debate, to which this bill gave rise, it is said the Rev. A. Campbell distinguished himself on the liberal side of the question. Virginia is greatly indebted to him for his public-spirited philanthropy.

darkness, in the case of African degradation, it is high time for the virtuous sovereign people to rouse from their slumber. THEIR OWN FREE INSTITUTIONS ARE IN DANGER!

"AFRICAN SENTINEL AND JOURNAL OF LIBERTY."

Proposals have been issued at Albany, N. Y. by John G. Stewart, (a coloured man,) for the publication of a paper, under the above title.

The moral world, at this time, resembles a great mountain, shaken to its very base by a tremendous heaving volcano. As heat precedes light, so ardent desire goes before the acquisition of knowledge. The grand efforts of the protestant reformers, and the political revolutionists of this country, have roused a spirit of liberty, and scientific research that knows no bounds save that of Creation. Every class of mankind is destined to feel the holy impulse of its renovating power; and it would be strange, indeed, if the descendants of Africans should not, while

"It subjects all free negroes who shall be convicted of remaining in the commonwealth, contrary to law, to the liability of being sold by the sheriff.—It gives the superior courts as well as the county courts, jurisdiction of all prosecution against free negroes offending in this manner. It makes it the duty of the commissioners of the revenue to present the grand juries with a list of all free negroes, who shall remain more than 12 months contrary to law. All emancipated slaves, who shall remain more than 12 months, contrary to law, shall revert to the executors as assets. All meetings of free negroes at any school house, or meeting house, for teaching them reading or writing, is declared an unlawful assembly—and it is made the duty of any justice of the peace to issue his warrant to enter the house where such unlawful assemblage is held, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes. A fine to be imposed on every white person who instructs at such meetings. It forbids any free negro to keep any dog, unless he be a house-keeper or head of a family; and in no case shall he be allowed to keep more than one dog."

Upon this attempt to shut out the light of knowledge from the mind of the African, the editor of the "Liberator" makes the following lively comment, adverted also to the article in the Telegraph, above noticed.

"We believe not one of the religious papers in Virginia published a sentence condemning this wicked effort to prevent the instruction of the coloured population of Virginia. On the contrary, the Richmond Telegraph, edited by the Rev. Mr. Converse, advocated the prohibition, so far as it related to instruction in reading and writing. Here is an editorial commentary upon the heathenish suggestions of a correspondent. O monstrous depravity of heart, and cruelty of design! We cannot give vent to our indignation this week, but will pour out a torrent in our next number. The Boston Recorder, last week, republished the paragraph without note or comment—and, of course, approvingly!!! Are we in a Christian land?"

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

they are themselves subject to its most powerful operations, exhibit the same symptoms of improvement in science and literature that others do. I have long contended that they are possessed of faculties and capacities similar to those of their fair-skinned brethren:—and it is gratifying to perceive that they are determined to *show* it.

The following paragraph is extracted from the prospectus of the work above mentioned. I would cheerfully copy the whole, but my limits are too narrow. The paper will be published monthly, in quarto form, at \$1 50 per year. Should patronage warrant, however, it is the design of the publisher to issue it weekly after the first year.

"We trust our efforts, feeble as they may be, will be duly appreciated by our friends, and meet with a cordial support from every man whose bosom flows with the least spark of liberty and equality, and who believes as we do, and as is set forth in the Declaration of American Independence, "that all men are created free and equal" and "endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, among which, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." In order to promote that happiness so desirable to all, it is necessary, and indispensably so, that there should be at least one public JOURNAL, conducted by a coloured man, and devoted to the interests of the coloured population throughout this country, for the purpose of diffusing such information of passing events as may be calculated both to instruct and amuse, and for the general communication of our thoughts and sentiments upon such subjects as are frequently agitated in the world, touching our condition, as a part of the great family of man; and more particularly here, where the arts, sciences and literature are as accessible to the humble peasant as to the more proud and opulent,—here, where people of every clime, save Africa, are hastening to enjoy the benefits of those Institutions so congenial to the cultivation of every science and of every art."

The *Foreign Review* states that Professor Blumenbach, of Gottingen, possesses a small library of books, all of which are written by *Negroes*, showing that there is hardly a science in which some negro has not been distinguished.

RHODE ISLAND.

The following is extracted from the proceedings of the R. I. legislature, of a recent date, as published in the "Providence Journal." It is a *curiosity*!

"The committee to whom was referred the petition of *Alfred Nigier*, et al. persons of colour, praying to be exempt from taxation, in consequence of their not being admitted to equal rights with other citizens, reported against granting the prayer of the petition—report received. The Committee reported a bill exempting colored persons from taxation. Mr. *Potter* moved the indefinite postponement of the bill. He said, if the bill should pass, there would arise as much controversy in the state between different degrees of color, as there was in Circuit Court, about

half and whole blood. The motion was carried without division."

CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES—1830.

The returns of the marshals are not yet complete; and, of course, we cannot present a full detail of this census. The following table gives a partial view. Hereafter, the readers of this work will be furnished with a more general and complete statement, accompanied by some reflections upon the subject. Enough is here exhibited to appal the hearts of *conscientious* slave-holders, relative to the increase of the slave population, compared with that of the white. But the worst is yet to come! S. Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi—to say nothing of Kentucky and Arkansas—will increase the dark aspect which the gloomy subject already presents.

	Free white persons.	Free coloured persons.	Slaves.
District of Maine	398,255	1,207	
New Hampshire	268,910	628	
Vermont	279,780	885	
Massachusetts	603,094	7,006	
Connecticut	289,624	8,064	23
Rhode Island	98,631	3,565	14
N. district New York	1,365,009	11,412	46
S. do do			
District of New Jersey	300,226	18,307	2,246
E. dist. Pennsylvania	724,226	31,133	218
W. do do	567,680	6,614	168
District of Delaware	57,605	15,829	3,305
Maryland	291,093	52,942	102,378
E. district Virginia	357,305	39,330	398,728
W. do do			
District N. Carolina	472,433	19,575	246,462
S. Carolina			
Georgia			
N. district Alabama	81,212	410	44,159
S. do do	108,959	1,181	73,335
District of Mississippi			
E. do Louisiana	60,565	14,332	80,421
W. do do	28,626	2,421	29,210
E. do Tennessee	176,544	1,943	17,887
W. do do	361,386	2,570	124,492
District of Kentucky			
Ohio	928,093	9,586	
Indiana	338,020	3,562	
Illinois	155,178	1,653	746
Missouri	112,065	542	24,820
Arkansas			
Michigan	30,848	253	27
E. Florida	4,515	343	4,096
W. do	5,329	396	3,753
S. do	368	83	66
M. do	8,173	18	7,586
Columbia	27,635	6,163	6,060

ANTI SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

To the polite attention of my valuable correspondent in Liverpool, I am indebted for a complete file of the "*Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*," to November, 1830.

Never before, did the cause of African Emancipation wear so propitious an aspect as at pres-

ent. The whole kingdom of Great Britain is roused. The might and majesty of the popular will proclaims destruction to the system of slavery; and it will speedily be accomplished in all the Colonies of that vast Empire. Nor will the work stop here. France, regenerated France, is also awake to the evils of that system, and will soon eradicate it. We have the character of a *Lafayette* pledged for its accomplishment.

It will be impossible to give the reader an adequate idea of the spirited movements in England, relative to this subject, in the small space that can be spared for it in this work. But the following extract from a very late English paper, will throw some light upon it. It is stated in the same paper, that forty meetings were held in England and Scotland, within the previous three months, for the purpose of petitioning against slavery. When, alas! will the people of *republican* America be thus roused?

Anti-Slavery Petitions.—From the 17th of Nov. to Dec. 23d inclusive, eleven hundred and twenty-five petitions for the early and entire abolition of Colonial Slavery were presented to the House of Commons. From the commencement of the session to the Christmas recess, the whole number was three thousand two hundred and fourteen. A very large additional number, it is believed, will still be presented before the discussion of the question, in pursuance of the notice given by Mr. Buxton, for the first of March.

SLAVERY IN FLORIDA.

A pamphlet has recently been issued, as I understand, by an inhabitant of Florida, attempting to shew the advantages of slavery in the United States, and the European colonies. I have not yet been able to lay my hand on this emanation of "republican" despotism. The "*Herald of Truth*" of the 5th inst. contains a spirited review of it. I give the following extract from the pamphlet, as copied in the "*Herald*," without a word of comment. But the author shall receive *further notice* when I get my eye on his book.

"To counteract the existing prejudice against slavery, by making it evident that the condition of slaves may be equally happy, and more independent of the ordinary evils of life, than that of the common class of whites, denominated free—that they are now equally virtuous, moral, and less corrupted than the ordinary class of labouring whites—that their labour is far more productive—that they yield more support and benefit to the state; which under a well regulated system of management, is better fitted to endure a state of war than it would be with an equal number of free white people of ordinary means and condition; and, finally, that the slave, or patriarchal system of society, [so often commiserated as a subject of deep regret] which constitutes the bond of social compact of the southern sea-board of the United States, is better adapted for strength, durability, and inde-

pendence, than any other state of society hitherto adopted. To endeavour to prove all this, and to destroy the prejudice existing against slavery, under the circumstances with which it is now associated in the south, is the object of the present essay, dedicated to the people of Florida, and to political economists throughout the southern states, by a votary of rational policy."

PRESBYTERY OF CHILICOTHE.

The great length of the letter from this religious association, necessarily precludes the insertion of the whole. It is a masterly production, and I have wished to give as much of it as the limits of this work will permit. Some further quotations are here presented, which are put in small type, that they may occupy as little space as possible.

Correspondents have frequently requested me to explain certain passages of Scripture. As I am no theologian, and merely wish to proceed upon the broad ground of *justice* and *equity*, which may be comprehended by every sane mind, I have generally declined entering upon this fruitful theme of discussion. In this article, however, certain points are elucidated very much in accordance with my own views, and I recommend it to the notice of those who have made the inquiries aforesaid.

Since writing the above, I have conversed with one of the most intelligent and philanthropic Presbyterian clergymen in the western country; and he informs me that it is the full determination of many of their influential characters to press this subject upon the attention of their people, until they prove successful. May Heaven prosper their *glorious* efforts!

"The Apostles often speak of slave-holders; but they never address them as christians or members of the church. On the contrary, they treat them with marked abhorrence. When we say that they speak of slave-holders, we do not mean that they wrote in English; but, that they use a term which is fairly translated, *slave-holder*. The Greek word used in (1 Tim. 6. 1, 2. and in Titus 2. 9.) and other places, is *Despotes*. It is from this that our English word *Despot* is derived. The word does not necessarily imply any worse idea than absolute authority. It is used in a good or bad sense, according to the person to whom it is applied. In a good sense, and with great propriety, it is applied to the Most High, and is translated Lord. (Jude 4. Acts 4. 24. Luke 2. 29.) The Apostles and other pious men use it in their prayers to God, as the Supreme Lord of the Universe, and the Lord of life. In a bad sense it is applied to men, who, usurping the authority of the Almighty, claim power over the lives and liberty of their fellow men, and make them slaves. Hence the term *Despot*, derived from it, has been, from the first, a name of infamy. It is remarkable that this title is never used by the evangelists, as applicable to any one who lived under the law of Moses. The Apostles use it as a title of men, who had grown up amidst the darkness and abominations of paganism, in

countries where there was no jubilee, and where there was not even a name for humility or mercy.

We consider it as unfortunate that Despotism is translated Master, (though it can easily be accounted for,) and that, therefore, in our English Bible, we have nothing to distinguish the Despot from the Kurios, which is also translated Master, but designates a master of a very different kind. For the sake of distinction, we shall take the liberty of translating the one Despot, and the other Master, in our quotations from the Scriptures, and our remarks upon them. That the Despots were slave-holders, even the advocates for slavery will not be disposed to deny. They insist that there were such characters as slave-holders, and they will not insist that they were held in such detestation by the Apostles, that they were never once named. That Kurios, the other word which is translated Master, was not the title of slave-holder is abundantly evident. It is translated in different places Master, Sir, and Lord. It is the title by which the disciples generally address the Saviour; and they were not such reprobates, as to use the word which would insinuate that they considered their situation under him, like that of poor slaves. When the Greeks, who wished to see Jesus, (John 12. 21.) used it, in their address to Philip, they were not so consummately polite as to wish him to consider himself a slave-holder, and themselves as his slaves. The Apostle Peter, when addressing wives, (1 Pet. 3. 6) on the subject of duty to their husbands, recommends for their imitation, the example of Sarah, who obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord (Kurios.) Even a trader in slaves would not infer from this, that Abraham and all other husbands were slave-holders, and that Sarah and all wives were slaves; and that when he is making up a drove of the wives of his neighbours for the market, he may complete it with his own wife! Yet this would be both good logic, and good divinity, if Kurios means slave-holder. Kurios means Master of an indentured, hired, or any voluntary servant.

We have decisive evidence that the Despots were the slave-holders. The Apostle, [1 Tim. 6. 1.] addresses the servants of Despots as slaves, and he addresses the servants of no others as slaves. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own Despots worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." Servants under the yoke, is the appropriate name of slaves. The allusion is to the manner in which the Romans doomed individuals, and sometimes cities, and even whole provinces, to slavery, by making them to pass under the yoke, the symbol of bondage. If there is any meaning in names, we should suppose that when the term Despot is applied to any creature by inspiration, it would be a sufficient indication of his character, if we heard nothing more about him. But the Apostle [in 1. Tim. 6. 1, 2.] plainly intimates that the Despots were unbelievers; and that when they became believers, it was in the power of the slaves to refuse to do them service, as servants. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own despots worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, and they that have believing Despots, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather let them do service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit."

He was anxious that slaves or servants under the yoke, should count their Despots worthy of

all honour. In the 4th and 5th verses, he suggests the reason. A different spirit was inculcated by some teachers, "who were proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envies, strifes, revilings, evil surmising, &c." Any one who is familiar with the epistles, recognizes in this picture, the Judaizers, those troublers of Israel in those days. These men had been taught by their Rabbies, that it was a sin for a Jew to serve a Gentile; and among Christians they were inculcating a similar principle. They taught them to disregard every tie which bound a believer to an unbeliever. The Apostle had some difficulty in persuading believing husbands and wives that they ought not to put away their unbelieving partners, and in persuading some professors, that infidelity in their rulers would not justify rebellion. There were sufficient grounds for fears that some pious slaves might be induced to believe that it was inconsistent with the religion of Jesus to honour a vile pagan. It was easy to perceive how the name of God and his doctrine would be blasphemed so soon as it should be known that slaves were making the Gospel a plea for rebellion. He therefore urges them not to let any thing in their conduct be the occasion of reproach to the cause of Christ. Now let it be distinctly marked, that the Apostle was apprehensive that all slaves were in the same danger. Why? Because they all had Despots of such a stamp that they might consider it a sin to honour them. They were all unbelievers.

But from the second verse it appears that Despots did sometimes believe. He here addresses servants that have believing Despots. That they were a different kind of servants from those under the yoke, is very evident from the fact that they are introduced by the conjunction *de*, improperly translated *and*, instead of *but*. Any Greek scholar knows that the characters introduced by that conjunction are different from those preceding. If those in the first place were slaves, these were not. The object of the Apostle's address is to persuade servants not to take occasion from their Despots' having become brethren to despise them, by refusing to do them service as hired servants, or in any other way. He does not enjoin them to do service, nor does he intimate that there was any law which required it: but advises it *rather*. Being poor, they must serve somebody. The fact, which is obviously implied, is that so soon as a Despot became a believer, and put himself under the care of the church, it was in the power of the slave to despise him, and refuse to serve him in any capacity. It was then in his power to complain to the church, that a man who was now a brother in Christ was robbing him, not of a few dollars, but of that which outweighs all price—his liberty; and was claiming power over his life. Whether a church under the direction of men, some of whom had been companions of the Son of God, and were full of the Holy Ghost, would sustain a brother in such a plea, and require the usurper to repent, and sin no more, is easily decided. A church that will allow her members to cheat their neighbour to the amount of a single dollar, is either grossly ignorant or grossly wicked. But the Apostle was apprehensive that slaves, in the event of the conversion of their Despots, would act imprudently; that smarting under past injuries, they would, beside claiming their liberty, insultingly refuse to be employed as servants,

and thus not only leave a repenting brother in embarrassed circumstances, and throw themselves out of employment, but, worse than all, manifest an unforgiving spirit, and give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. We make a remark on the phrase, "believing Despots." As this is the only text in which believing and slave-holding are found in such near connection, much use will be made of it. We shall be told that such a phrase as believing Despots, proves that they remained Despots after they believed. Let us apply this principle. The apostles often speak of Jews which believe, and of Gentiles which believe. Does it follow that they remained Jews and Gentiles after they believed? We read that the dumb spake and the blind saw, and the lame walked. Any one knows, that such phrases are often used to designate at once the person's past and present character. So we use them to this day. We speak of converted gamblers and swearers; but we are never understood, and never wish to be understood, as saying that they swear and gamble after conversion. That no man remained a Despot after he became a member of the church, is easily proved.

The Apostles never address a Despot as a believer, or member of the church. They frequently address Masters on the subject of Christian duties, and tell them how to treat their servants. [Eph. 6. 5. Col. 3. 22. and 4. 1.] They never address their servants without addressing their Masters also. But though they often address the servants of Despots, they never address the Despots but as wicked men. How shall we account for this? How shall we account for it, that while they address all classes of believers, magistrates and subjects, ministers and people, husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, and particularly notice slaves, there is not a word to pious Despots? There were no such pious men. Such were the views which the Apostle entertained of their characters, that he treats them with marked abhorrence. He never tells them how to manage their slaves, for the same reason that he never tells them how to steal! He never undertakes to regulate a wicked thing. An address to the Despots in any church would have been as absurd as an address to the man-stealers in the church. No such men were in the church.

VII. All addresses to servants of Despots which are to be found in the New Testament, either plainly imply, or fairly warrant the inference, that the Despots were irreligious men. In these passages all the tenderness and sympathy of the Apostles appear to be called up. They seem to be bringing into view the most cheering considerations which the gospel furnishes to animate them to perseverance; and to be setting before them in most commanding array those that were calculated to fortify them against permitting themselves to be driven into sin by any hardships or sufferings. They speak as to men who were in the hands of sworn enemies to the cross of Christ. The Apostle Paul [1 Cor. 7. 20. 24.] decides the question whether a servant, not free, [which in a Pagan country like that around Corinth was only another name for a slave] might be baptised, or admitted to the church? "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant, care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is

the Lord's freeman, likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be ye not the servants of men." In the commencement of the chapter he gives notice, that he will now consider those things of which they had written to him. After deciding that husbands and wives may be admitted though their partners be irreligious, he decides the question respecting servants, by this general principle. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. The Apostle never decides, as a case of conscience, a question with which nobody's conscience was troubled. He takes up these matters as difficulties which had so baffled the collected wisdom of the church of Corinth, that they had written to him for a decision. The fact that under the Old Testament a husband, or a wife whose partner was a pagan, would not be retained in the communion of the church, made it a question with the Corinthians whether such persons ought to be admitted to the privileges of the Christian church. The same disposition to judaizing embarrassed them with regard to servants not free. Had their Despots been believers, there would have been no difficulty; for the law of Moses required that the bond servants of Israelites should be circumcised unless they refused. But the situation of a slave, subject to the caprice of a pagan Despot, was a different thing. We cannot but remark that the Apostles and churches appear not to have adopted the polite custom in some slave-holding churches, of refusing to baptise any slave, till he can produce a note from his master and mistress; thus putting his privileges, and so far as outward means are concerned, his hope of salvation, in the hands of persons who are sometimes avowed enemies to the name of Jesus. Having relieved the church of Corinth from embarrassment by the general principle, that it is only personal irreligion which bars admission to the Christian church, he proceeds to address the servants. For it seems to have been a serious question with them, whether they ought to wish to be baptised. It would be natural for a conscientious slave to reason thus: May I undertake to follow the Saviour, who have an ungodly Despot, whose commands will often interfere with the commands of God; who not only from covetousness, but from enmity to the cross, will require me to profane the Lord's day, and forbid me to attend the house of God, and, perhaps merely to vex my soul, will require me to attend him to his Idol's temple? The Apostle, as one who could weep with those that weep, tells him not to care for it, that he is a servant; but advises him "if thou mayest be free, use it rather." He then gives an important lesson why he should obtain his freedom if he could: "He that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant." The sum is, that every Christian, whether bond or free, must serve his divine Master. His must be the paramount authority. Aware that such a course would often expose to great suffering, and that the servant might suppose that his hard lot would justify some deviation from the path of duty, he reminds him that there can be no compromise between Christ and Belial. "Ye are bought with a price, be ye not the servants of men." Considering the Apostle's sympathy for these servants, why does he not say a word to their Despots, about their freedom—or about permitting them to attend the house of God—or, about their having to

sure on the Lord's day to attend to the concerns of their souls. This would be a hard question, on the supposition that any of them had the fear of God. But the answer is plain; they were the very men who were not Christians; and he knew enough of human nature to know that to talk to an ungodly man, whose heart is under the dominion of the slave-holding lust, about mercy, would be like making supplications to the wind.

The Apostle Peter manifests the same concern for slaves, and the same abhorrence of their despots. "Servants be subject to your own Despots, with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults ye take it patiently; but if when ye do well, ye suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously, &c. [1 Pet. 2. 18—18 23] We presume no one will undertake to find Christians, under the naked title, good and gentle Despots. Good is used simply to express benevolence. It is used to express the benevolence of Barnabas, and other believers, but it is in connexion with other phrases employed to shew that they were believers. The good and gentle Despots are here distinguished from the froward; whose characters and spirit are impliedly portrayed in this passage. Compared with the latter, the former might be gentle, good slave-holders, and yet wretches as regards religion.

If this address of the Apostle was appropriate, we see what was the lot of pious slaves. When we think of what Christians endured in primitive times, we generally think of only what they suffered who were brought before kings and rulers. We seldom reflect on what Christian slaves endured every day, from the hands of Despots, who had power over their lives and liberties, and were giving vent to their enmity to Jesus by tormenting those who wore his image. We read and talk a great deal about the sufferings of Missionaries in heathen countries now, but we seldom think seriously on the condition of pious slaves but a few hundred miles from our homes, in countries where the laws of the land make it penal, publicly to instruct them, or their wives, or their little ones, where they cannot without danger of receiving many lashes on their bare backs be caught at the place where they may hear the way of salvation; and where many professed Christians, and some ministers, as unblushingly as if they had stricken covenant with hell, will tell you by their conduct, if not with their lips, that it would be improper to give them the Bible.* But the Apostle, like one who was in the habit of thinking of, and sympathising with his brethren, who were in slavery, addresses them more particularly than any other class of Christians—as those who now had to endure the very brunt of the sufferings of the times for Christ's sake—as people who were buffeted, and suffering wrongfully, and enduring grief for well doing, and for con-

science toward God. Like one who was trembling for the issue of their Christian warfare, he urges them to perseverance by reminding them of what Jesus endured for them when he bore our sins in his own body on the tree. He tells them they must walk in the footsteps of him whom no persecution could drive into sin. To shew them how they must bear evil treatment, he sets before them the last scene of the Saviour's sufferings. "Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not, but committed himself to Him who judgeth righteously." This, according to an inspired Apostle, must be the spirit of a Christian slave. But there are those who will tell us the Apostles were too prudent to manifest much of this spirit themselves, that they would risk letting their hearers go down to hell by thousands, rather than displease any one by telling him to repent of enslaving his neighbour. The truth is, the slave-holding spirit is a fiend-like spirit. It can trample on the authority and laws of God, and trample under foot the rights of man, and stab the character of the Apostles, when their example rebukes it, and sneer at the littleness of the man who is less daring; and in the mean time talk about liberty and religion and conscience, and the example of the holy Apostles! How does it come to pass, that the Apostle divides Despots into only two classes, those who are good and gentle, and those who were froward. Why does he not give the pious slaveholder a word of exhortation and instruction? He did not believe there were such men on earth. The man who can get along pleasantly to himself in the exposition of the epistles, and maintain that the Apostles manifested no disapprobation of the sin of slave-holding, or that they received into the church those who were living in this sin, must be possessed of some qualities which no wise and honest man will envy.

We feel, brethren, that we have sinned in so long holding our peace on this subject. It is, we trust, with sincere sorrow for our past neglect, that we have resolved that in deciding on all future applications for privileges, and in the exercise of discipline, as regards those who are already in our communion, we will consider the buying, or selling, or holding a slave for the sake of gain, a heinous sin and scandal. We calculate as matter of course, on hearing objections. The sin of slave-holding having been a long time in the church undisturbed, any attempt to dislodge it will meet opposition. The enemy of souls will be roused. Worldly professors, like the craft at Ephesus, will be alarmed, and sincere Christians, simply because their old habits are shocked, will for a time join in the opposition. Like men just waking out of a dream, they will make objections which they themselves do not understand, and which, after a little reflection, they will find to be so foolish, or so wicked, that they will be ashamed that they ever uttered them. We shall hear, that to take cognizance of this sin, would be tyrannical—it would injure professing slave-holders—it would injure the church—it would injure the poor slaves—it would injure the country."

CANADA COLONY.

Complaints have been made that the agents first employed to prepare for the settlement of the coloured people in Canada, have greatly

* A good hint for the editor of the "Southern Religious Telegraph!"—Ed. G. U. E.

mismanaged the business entrusted to them. I rejoice, however, to find, that some very intelligent persons have already gone thither, and that the colony is likely to prosper. The Rev. Nathaniel Paul, an influential coloured man from Albany, has gone out, with his family, and writes back encouragingly. The editor of the "American Spectator" will find that his "prediction" is *not yet verified*—neither is it likely to be.

NORTH CAROLINA.

An outrageous proposition has been submitted to the Legislature of this State, which has for its object the infliction of a *special tax* upon the free people of colour, with a view of aiding in defraying the expenses of their removal to Africa. Was this measure proposed in accordance with the views of the Colonization Society? Do the members of that association generally approve it? I pause for an answer.

TEXAS.

Certain ambitious advocates of slavery in this country, are still planning ("*Bent-on*") the annexation of Texas to the United States, *or the establishment of its independence, with the view of extending the system of slavery therein.* Paragraphs occasionally appear in the newspapers, confirming the truth of this remark. Are the friends of universal emancipation *alive to the importance of the subject?* Let them be prepared for the conflict! *It will as surely be attempted, ere long, as that the Territory exists.* Will THE PEOPLE of the United States permit it? Wo to our country, if we have a *slave-holding President* then!!

STORES FOR THE PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

This concern appears to be rapidly increasing. George Truman, of Philadelphia, and A. Laing, of Rahway, N. J. have embarked in the business. Charles Collins, of New York, Lydia White and Charles Peirce, of Philadelphia, a sister of Benjamin Webb, of Wilmington, Del. and many others, elsewhere, also continue in the same line.

A late letter from Nathan Hunt, of North Carolina, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, mentions that a considerable quantity of cotton, produced by free labour, will soon be shipped by him for the latter place. *The work will go on.*

"HALF-WAY MEASURES."

If the editor of the "Anti-Masonic Register" had attentively read the whole of the article in the Genius of Universal Emancipation, upon which he has spent a column or two of criticism,

he certainly would neither have misunderstood my sentiments, nor misinterpreted my language. I intended to say that I was "opposed" to *stopping at* "half-way measures,"—not the *adopting them.* I rejoice that "half-way" or even *quarter-way* measures are approved by those who cannot "see clear" to encourage any thing further.

THE "GERMANTOWN TELEGRAPH."

The editor of this paper chides me for my "*severity*," &c. and immediately copies an article from my "*Black List*!"

I wish this gentleman to understand, that I am not to be schooled in this cause by my *Juniors*, who can "look with composure on blood and carnage."

DEATH OF BISHOP ALLEN.

Just as this paper was going to press, information was received that the venerable Richard Allen, Bishop of the African Methodist Church, in Philadelphia, hath departed this life. Long will his surviving coloured brethren lament their great, if not irreparable, loss.

GEN. SIMON BOLIVAR.

This distinguished man, who was second to none for patriotism and political philanthropy that the last dozen centuries have produced, is no more. He has finished his earthly career; but has left an example worthy the imitation of all slave holders, of every country and clime.

In addition to his great and untiring efforts to break the chains of clerical and political bondage that oppressed his countrymen, he acted the part of perfect consistency, in using his influence for the enfranchisement of the *African Slaves*, who were there reduced to abject servility. We have been informed that, in the early stage of the Colombian revolution, he emancipated from 700 to 1000 slaves; and that he strenuously and successfully urged the total abolition of slavery by the government. Since his death, it is stated that he has freed 150 more, by will, who were still held by him, and who, probably, preferred remaining with him while he lived. Would that the *professed* "republicans" of this nation could shew us even *one solitary example* of consistent, virtuous patriotism, equal to this!

FRENCH COLONIES.

Since the late change in the French government, it appears that orders have been issued, (in accordance with the sentiments of General Lafayette,) to place the *free coloured* inhabitants of the colonies upon a footing with the whites. This has exasperated the latter to a high degree.

Disturbances have occurred, both in Martinique and Gaudaloupe. A *St. Domingo* fate awaits all the French West India colonies, (and will speedily unfold its dire calamities,) unless the government promptly puts an end to the system of slavery therein. The cup of their iniquity is nearly full.

“LIBERIA HERALD.”

The number of this work, for January the 6th, 1831, has just been received at this office. The most important information, contained in this paper, is that embraced in the “*Report of Public Schools, at Liberia.*” To shew the laudable spirit which actuates the colonists, in this respect, the following extracts from said Report are inserted. What a contrast does this present to the abominable doctrines advanced by the legislators of some of our southern states, as well as certain religious professors there! Surely, young as we are in iniquity, and loud as we prate of liberty and justice,—the regeneration of Africa, and the downfall of our own free institutions, are going hand in hand. Let the people look to it; on them depends the welfare and prosperity, or the misery and ruin, of this boasted free Republic.

Extracts from the Report of the Committee on Public Schools, at Liberia, Jan. 1831.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, anxious to extend to the Colony at Liberia, the blessings of useful knowledge, whereby all its inhabitants may eventually enjoy the means of developing their resources, of improving their moral and intellectual condition, and of thus presenting to Africa, a model worthy of imitation, consider the universal education of the children as among the most effectual instruments for securing this great object.

That to this end, schools fitted to the state of the colony, shall be forthwith established, under the direction and superintendence of the Colonial Agent, at Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburg, in which Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, shall be taught to all the children; and such other branches as circumstances may from time to time render expedient.

That it be the duty of the Colonial Agent, whenever in his opinion, or that of respectable colonists, it shall be expedient to establish schools at other places, to communicate his views to this Board, that proper order may be taken thereon.

That one tenth part of the public lots and lands, that have been, or may from time to time be hereafter laid out, and which shall be inalienable, be set apart to this object, but whose rents or fruits shall be applied to it.

That for the present, and until otherwise ordered, the whole proceeds of the sales of public lots and lands shall be so applied.

And that in addition the annual sum of five hundred dollars be given by this Board.

The following is the 9th section of the “Regulations for the Port of Monrovia:”—

All vessels engaged in the slave trade, are

prohibited from anchoring in the harbour, or having any communication with the inhabitants of this Colony; except in cases of distress, when the circumstances are to be reported to the Agent for his decision.

FRANKLIN AND ARMFIELD’S SLAVES.

A very interesting case recently occurred in the British West Indies. The brig *Comet*, from Alexandria, D. C. bound to New-Orleans, with 164 slaves, (belonging, it is said, to Franklin & Armfield,) was wrecked on the island of Abaco, and the slaves were all taken to Nassau, and liberated.

Further particulars will be given hereafter.

ANTI-COLONIZATION.

The proceedings of sundry meetings of the coloured people in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, will be noticed in this work for next month. They are decidedly opposed to African colonization, and it is right and proper that they should be heard. *They shall have the privilege of telling their own story.*

MEETING OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE IN BALTIMORE.

The following communication was received just in, time for this number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This is the voice of the great majority of the coloured people in the city of Baltimore. Few white people are more intelligent than the officers of this meeting. Let the Colonization Society ponder on this subject.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

BALTIMORE, MARCH 21, 1831.

At a respectable meeting of persons of colour, convened pursuant to public notice, for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in regard to the pretensions of the American Colonization Society.—William Douglass was called to the chair, and William Watkins appointed secretary. The object of the meeting having been explicitly stated, the members immediately proceeded to the consideration of the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That the object of the American Colonization Society, as published to the world, be read to this meeting.

2. *Resolved*, That it is the belief of this meeting, that the American Colonization Society is founded more in a selfish policy than in the true principles of benevolence; and, therefore, so far as regards the life-giving spring of its operations, is not entitled to our confidence, but should be viewed by us with all that caution and distrust which our happiness demands.

3. *Resolved*, That we are not inseparable of the means usually employed by that society, and its auxiliaries, to effectuate our removal;—that we sincerely deprecate their gratuitous, and illiberal attacks upon, and their too frequently exaggerated statements of, our moral standing, in the community;—that such means are unworthy of a magnanimous people, and of a virtuous and noble cause.

4. *Resolved*, That we consider the land in which we were born, and in which we have

been bred, our only "true and appropriate home," and that when we desire to remove, we will apprise the public of the same, in due season.

5. *Resolved*, That we are deeply sensible that many of our warm and sincere friends have espoused the colonization system, from the purest motives,—and that we sincerely regret that their efforts to ameliorate our condition are not more in accordance with our wishes.

6. *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the daily papers of this city, and signed by the chairman.

WILLIAM DOUGLASS, *Chairman*.
William Watkins, *Secretary*.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

It was my intention to present the reader with a general biographical sketch of John Woolman in this number; but I cannot command the materials for it just now. The following short notice is taken from the "*Friend or Advocate of Truth*," published in Philadelphia. It will be read with interest.

Extract from a Testimony from the Quarterly Meeting at York, in Great Britain, concerning John Woolman, formerly of Mount Holly, New Jersey.

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in looking to the Lord for instruction, is, whether, after so full information of the oppression the slaves in the West Indies lie under, who raise the West India produce, (as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, wrote by Anthony Benezet,) is it right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade?"

"To trade freely with oppressors, and without labouring to dissuade from such unkind treatment, to seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy, respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those in general, with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, "They have strengthened the hand of the wicked," hath very often revived in my mind; and I may here add some circumstances preceding my prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years; he longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, at war with Israel; and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taste; but having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. And the oppression of the slaves, which I have seen in several journeys southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none of my fellow creatures, hath, from time to time, lively revived on my mind; and under this exercise, I, for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

"I do not censure my brethren in these things, but I believe the father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath

heard the groans of these oppressed people; and is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition: and the trading in, or frequent use of, any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject, which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the prince of peace."

✱ The Constitution of the Coloured People's Free Produce Society in Philadelphia, was laid off for insertion this month; but is again crowded out. It will appear in one of the supplemental numbers.

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

THE DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE.

This is the most indefensible, as well as the most detestable feature in the system of slavery. It will not admit of even an attempt at justification. There are many who profess to deplore the existence of slavery, who yet consider its abolition impracticable, or unjust to the owners of the slaves, or dangerous to the community. Others, again, will decant largely on the blessings and advantages of slavery, to those who are favoured with the enjoyment of its benefits, ending with a declaration that their situation, if restored to freedom, would be infinitely more deplorable. But none of these reasons can be urged in behalf of this shameful traffic. It is a guilt and an infamy for which our country has no excuse. If her slave population was entailed upon her against her will, and cannot now be got rid of, she is, at least, under no compulsion to permit herself to be disgraced by this infamous traffic. If the state of the slaves is a happy one, their happiness cannot possibly be increased by being torn from their homes and friends, manacled and driven in gangs across the country, exposed to the gaze and insults of an unfeeling rabble, or hurried on board a slave ship and conveyed they know not whither, save that it is far from all they have ever known or loved. If they are unfit for the station of freemen, it does not necessarily follow that they should be treated as brutes; now, though there may be dangerous consequences to be feared from their emancipation, can the security of the present state of things be in anywise increased by goading them to madness with excessive cruelty? Hard as the lot of the slave is,

and ever must be, still while he is surrounded by those he loves, with the security that this blessing at least will be spared to him to soothe the darkness of his lot, and while the familiar faces and scenery which he has been accustomed to gaze on from childhood are still before him, he will probably indulge in an apathetic acquiescence with his fate, nor risk his present enjoyments for a doubtful future. But he who feels that his dearest ties of life are broken, never more to be united, and is driven by anguish and a sense of injustice into an utter recklessness of his fate, is a fit instrument to plan desperate deeds, and to infuse into the bosoms of others a portion of his own spirit. Thus should we allow entire validity, which we do not, to all the arguments that are urged in favour of the continuance of slavery, no one of them affords the slightest plea for this unchristian practice. It is utterly at variance with every law of humanity and religion, and in its very existence is a curse to the land in which it is tolerated.

"THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF."

This is a distinct and positive command. There is no obscurity attending it, no room for evading or explaining it away to suit the selfish purposes of individuals. Were it received with the belief of obedience, it would thoroughly exclude inhumanity from the heart. The sufferings of others would be made our own, and the apathetic indifference with which they are now too often regarded, would no longer be possible to our feelings. "Who is my neighbour," was the question asked by the Jewish lawyer; and the beautiful parable, which was given in reply, could not possibly be more applicable to any circumstance, than the situation in which we are placed with regard to our enslaved brethren. Too surely have they 'fallen among thieves;' men who have robbed them of their own flesh, stripped them 'of their raiment'—the precious garment of liberty, and sorely 'wounded' them with unmeasured cruelty; while woman, who should have been the first to pour into their hearts the oil and the wine of sympathy, and to seek to lift them up from their degraded condition, though it might be at the expense of some of her own accustomed comforts, has too long, like the priest and the Levite, 'passed by on the other side,' disregarding of their situation. Yet surely she, to whom the kindly affections are the deepest bliss of life, should be the first to shelter them from outrage, and to plead for the oppressed and miserable. By her own sorrows she should be taught to feel for their far more bitter ones; and in her hours of happiness, gratitude for her own blessings should awaken a sigh for those whose fate is widely different.

SLAVERY.

"By thine infinite of woe,
All we know not, all we know."

Aye, by all the long catalogue of evils that are comprised in this one name of slavery—all its vileness, its misery, its guilt—by all that is holiest and dearest to the female heart—all that can stir the soul or awaken the sympathies, is woman called upon to advocate the cause of suffering and outraged humanity in the person of the injured slave. Let her not give credence to those who would persuade her that her interference is uncalled for and unfeminine; that the existence of slavery is no concern of hers, and the attempt to alleviate the condition of its victims, without the pale of her duties. There never was a case in which the sympathy and assistance of woman were more strongly claimed by circumstances, or more imperatively needed. No concern of hers! Why, is it not her own sex that is suffering under the most barbarous system of oppression that ever disgraced a christian land? Are not they her sisters who are so despised, ignorant, and miserable? Does she not know that they are driven like brutes to public auction, and forced too, like them, to toil in the labours of the field? Is she not degraded in their degradation? and when their flesh is lacerated by the whip, or their hearts still more cruelly torn by the agony of their frequent bereavements, does she endure no portion of the pang? And yet shall she be told, while her whole soul is recoiling with horror and indignation at the thought of such a fate, that it behooves not her to attempt to alleviate its bitterness? To whom, then, may woman turn for aid and compassion amidst her wretchedness, if her own sex should shut their hearts against her? But they will not, they cannot do so. They know the means by which this great mountain of tyranny may be eventually overthrown, and their assistance will not be wanting, until patient perseverance is crowned with success.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE FREE COTTON ASSOCIATION.

Your gathering day! and I am not,
As erst, amid you set;
But even from this distant spot,
My thoughts are with you yet,
As freshly, as in hours forgot,
When I was with you met.

"His blessing on your high career!
Go, press unwearied on,
From month to month, from year to year,
Till when your task is done,
The franchised Negro's grateful tear,
Proclaims your victory won.

Oh faint you not, ye gathered band!
Although your way be long,

And they who ranged against you stand,
Are numberless and strong;
While you but bear a feeble hand,
Unused to cope with wrong.

Upon your injured brother look,
And nerve ye with the sight!
Could you the good, the gentle, brook
To wear your days in light,
Regardless that by sorrow struck,
He pines in rayless night?

Oh surely 'tis a blessed fate,
A lot like that ye bear—
To bid the crushed and desolate,
Not yield them to despair,
For even amidst their low estate,
Some hearts their sufferings share.

And never your high task forget,
Till they are chainless—free!
Alas! that ye should be so met,
And I not with you be;
Yet sometimes when you thus are set,
One heart may turn to me.

E.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

CHILDHOOD AND MANHOOD.

“I had a dream, which was not all a dream.”

It was the hour of sunset; and as the rich light melted through the warm summer air, every thing on which it fell caught from it a tinge of added loveliness. Yet amidst a landscape of surpassing brightness, no object was half so beautiful as the young laughing boy who was sporting in his baby innocence among the summer flowers. His soft lisping voice had just learned to frame a few words of infantile endearment, and the clear singing laugh that burst continually from his rosy lips, was more musical than the song of the woodbird that carolled above his head. His nurse, an old negress, was seated near him on the grass; and her grandson, a boy of his own years, shared with her in his frolicksome caresses and romping mirth. It mattered not to him that his comrade bore the degrading name of slave; as yet it came to his ears only as an idle sound. He cared not, when his white brow and long golden curls sometimes rested against the dark cheek of the young African, that their contrasted hue was an omen of their future fates, and that sable skin the stamp of an ignominious destiny. He knew not that in future years he should learn to despise the companion of his artless infancy, and that the arms which even were twined often with his own in loving playfulness, should be valued only while their possession added to his coffers.

Years passed away, and a trace of deeper thought stole silently and gradually upon his beautiful forehead. He had

grown from infancy into childhood, but for a time his docile and affectionate spirit, that longed to pour itself out in acts of love toward every breathing creature, yet remained unaltered, and his eye still wore the unsullied light of his early innocence. But he dwelt in an atmosphere of slavery, and the poison of its influence was secretly doing its errand at his heart. Change came over him with his bold impetuous boyhood; yet still there remained much in the passionate and self-willed child, for the heart to cling to with admiration and love. Warm, confiding, and generous in his temper, and an enthusiastic admirer of that republicanism whose praises were so often echoed in his ears, he would not stoop to tyrannise over those whom fortune had placed beneath him; and more than once had the imperative resistance of the young master rescued his favourite servant from the degrading lash. He had not yet learned to unite private despotism with loud plaudits of public liberty.

Darkness for a time came over the vision;—and then the free glad-hearted boy had risen into manhood. But oh, how changed from the promise of his early years! Too surely had his heart been tainted by the infection of evil example, and the lesson of oppressive tyranny was well learned. The stamp of generous feeling was no more upon his brow, for dark passions had been there and marred it with their gloomy traces. The light of genius and intellect flashed no longer from his bleared eye. He who had become accustomed to servile obedience, refused to submit to control;—idleness and an ungoverned mind had been his ruin, and his days were now divided between mad intoxication and sullen churlishness. They who had once flown to him for redress and protection, now feared to lift up their faces in his presence; and he whose boyish visions had been of smiling faces gathered round him in happiness and gratitude, had only now cared to wring from them the last drop of wealth that their worn sinews might afford him. That slave, the playmate of his childhood, again stood before him. He alone, of all his master's menials, still clung to him with something like affection. He could not wholly forget all thought of past hours, even in the capricious cruelty of the altered despot. He had now unwittingly offended—and he stood calm and patient amid the storm of threatenings and curses that burst from

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

the lips of his enraged master, till the lash was raised to inflict upon him its disgraceful punishment. Hitherto, some sense of gratitude, for he had been the preserver of his master's life, had preserved him from its indignity; and now he sprung aside to avoid the blow, while he attempted to expostulate. Unused to aught of opposition, the infuriated tyrant grasped his knife, and rushed forward to compel obedience, or inflict a deadlier vengeance. They grappled, struggled, and fell together; but the strong grasp of the negro was on his master's arm, and he lay helpless and powerless at the mercy of his injured slave. The black gazed for a moment silently, but with a look of sorrowful reproach, into the face whose glances had once spoken to him only of kindness and mercy. The thought of other days was busy at his heart, and loosing his grasp, he folded his arms mournfully and submissively across his breast. The next instant the blade was buried in his heart,—and the once lovely and pure-hearted boy arose from the earth—a murderer. BERTHA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE GRAVE OF THE OPPRESSED.

The sod was fresh that cover'd that lone grave,
Tow'rd's which, at twilight's sweet and solemn hour

My pensive step had turn'd.—Who rested there?
I asked:—an old man, bending o'er the spot
Wept, as his white hair floated on the breeze,
Which whispered mournfully the tale of death.
Slow he replied, "It is the grave of one,
Who, torn by cruel hands from all he lov'd,
His home, his friends, his country, sunk beneath
Oppression's galling chain.—He died a slave!
Lady! I weep, because no mother's bosom
Pillow'd his dying head—No father's hand
Closed the dim eye—kindred and friends below'd
Were far away, beyond the deep blue sea.
In a strange land he sunk to his last rest,
Unwept by those who lov'd his op'ning youth.
How sacred, and how sad, the captive's grave!
Poor victim of relentless cruelty!
Of woe—and toil—and suffering—inflicted
By MAN!—THY BROTHER MAN!—Hark!—'twas
a voice

From the deep earth!—a voice of BLOOD has
reach'd

Unto high heaven.—Oppressor! God has mark'd
Thy work of darkness—done in the pure light
Of the bless'd sun! Tyrant! the eye of God
Rests on that deep, lone grave! MARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE SHIP.

"Oh, what doth that vessel of darkness bear?"

On and on, steadily before the breeze,
with her white sails set, the foam feathering
gaily before her prow, and the
wavy waves leaping up around her, as

she moves onward in her course, like a
glad sea-bird bathing her proud bosom in
the laughing waters. Look how beautifully
and gracefully she breasts the shore,
or bows her tall spars to the saluting wind,
as if with the receding shore, she had left,
too, all of the sadness of earth behind her.
Alas! who would deem that she wore only
"that falsest of false things, a mark of
smiles," while beneath is horrible darkness,
and all hideousness? Her bosom is the
charnel house of hope—the receptacle of
vile depravity and heart-broken wretchedness!
Instead of the merry whistle of the sailor,
or the gay carol poured upon the morning air,—
the low curse of deadly hate is heard there,
the sound of falling lashes, the groan of agony,
the heavy clank of iron fetters, and the
wild lamentations of despair. 'Tis A
SLAVE-SHIP! Human hearts are stowed
away for merchandise in that suffocating
hold—hearts that are bursting with agony
at the thought of the home and the
friends which they shall never more re-
visit, and voices whose tones of love shall
never more come like a healing balsam
to still their painful throbbings. Eyes
just glazing in death are there—bosoms
heaving and gasping for breath amid the
hot poisonous air of the crowded dungeon-
hold—and shackled hands already cold
in death, fastened yet by their iron bolts
to those which are still living. The wi-
dowed and the orphaned are there, child-
less parents and bereaved relatives, all
of whom were but a few days since happy
in the interchange of life's dearest affec-
tions. And now all that scathe hath
been wrought upon them, not by the vi-
sitations of the Almighty through the
stroke of death, but by creatures like
themselves—human beings, who have
thus torn them from their native homes,
to be sold into hopeless, perpetual slave-
ry, in a stranger's household and a fo-
reign land, that their free-born hands
may be bartered for vile gold! ELA.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE BEREAVED FATHER.

Ye have gone from me, gentle ones!
With all your shouts of mirth;
A silence is within my walls,
A darkness round my hearth.

The brightness from my life has gone,
The gladness from my heart!
Alas! alas! that such as you
From home and love should part!

Wo to the hearts that heard, unmoved,
The mother's anguish'd shriek!

And mock'd, with taunting scorn, the tears
That bathed a father's cheek.

Wo to the hands that tore you hence,
My innocent and good!
Not e'en the tigress of the wild,
Thus tears her fellow's brood.

I list to hear your soft sweet tones,
Upon the morning air;
I gaze amidst the twilight's gloom,
As if to find you there.

But you no more come bounding forth
To meet me, in your glee;
And when the evening shadows fall,
Ye are not at my knee.

Your forms are aye before my eyes,
Your voices on my ear,
And all things wear a thought of you,
But you no more are here.

You were the glory of my life,
My blessing, and my pride!
I half forgot the name of slave,
When you were by my side!

Wo for the lot that waiteth you,
My victim babes! through life;
Who now shall teach you to bear up
Amidst its bitter strife!

Wo for your lot, ye doomed ones! wo!
A seal is on your fate!
And shame, and toil, and wretchedness,
On all your steps await.

MARGARET.

SELECTIONS.

SLAVE-HOLDERS' ARGUMENT.

Here is an excellent sample of a Slaveholder's logic. It should be stereotyped for them! It suits them exactly.—*Ed. G. U. E.*

From the Liberator.

PRISON ANECDOTE.

I will give the public an anecdote, showing in what manner a slave-holder can reason.

During my late incarceration in Baltimore prison, four men came to obtain a runaway slave. He was brought out of the cell to confront his master, but pretended not to know him—did not know that he had ever seen him before—could not recollect his name. Of course the master was exceedingly irritated. 'Don't you remember,' said he, 'when I gave you not long since, thirty-nine lashes under the apple-tree? Another time, when I gave you a sound flogging in the barn? Another time, when you were scourged for giving me the lie, by saying the horse was in good condition?'

'Yes,' replied the slave, whose memory was thus quickened, 'I do recollect. You have beaten me cruelly without cause; you have not given me enough to eat and drink; and I don't want to go back again. I wish you to sell me to another master—I had rather even go to Georgia, than to return home.'

'I'll let you know, you villain,' said the master, 'that my wishes, and not yours, are to be consulted. I'll learn you how to run away again.'

The other men advised him to take the black home, and cut him up in inch-pieces for his impudence, obstinacy and desertion—swearing tremendously all the while. The slave was ordered back to his cell.

I had stood speechless during this singular dialogue, my blood boiled in my veins, and my limbs trembling with emotion. I now walked up to the gang, and addressing the master as calmly as possible, said—

'Sir, what right have you to that poor creature?'

He looked up in my face very innocently and replied—

'My father left him to me.'

'Suppose,' said I, 'your father had broken into a bank and stolen ten thousand dollars, and safely bequeathed the sum as a legacy: could you conscientiously keep the money? For myself, I had rather rob any bank to an indefinite amount, than kidnap a fellow being, or hold him in bondage; the crime would be less injurious to society, and less sinful in the sight of God.'

The man and his crew were confounded. What! to hear such sentiments in Maryland,—and in jail too! Looking them full in the face, and getting no reply, I walked a few steps to the door. After a brief consultation, the master came up to me and said—

'Perhaps you would like to buy the slave, and give him his liberty?'

'Sir, I am a poor man: and were I ever so opulent, it would be necessary, on your part, to make out a clear title to the services of the slave, before I could conscientiously make a bargain.'

After a pause he said—

'Well, sir, I can prove from the bible that slavery is right.'

'Ah!' replied I, 'that is a precious book—the rule of conduct. I have always supposed that its spirit was directly opposed to every thing in the shape of fraud and oppression. However sir, I should be glad to hear your text.'

He somewhat hesitatingly muttered out—

'Ham—Noah's curse, you know?'

'Oh, sir, you build on a very slender foundation. Granting, even—what remains to be proved—that the Africans are the descendants of Ham, Noah's curse was a prediction of future servitude, and not an injunction to oppress. Pray, sir, is it a careful desire to fulfil the scriptures, or to make money, that induces you to hold your fellow men in bondage?'

'Why, sir, exclaimed the slaveite, with unmingled astonishment, 'do you really think that the slaves are beings like ourselves?—that is, I mean, do you believe that they possess the same faculties and capacities as the whites?'

'Certainly, sir,' I responded; 'I do not know that there is any moral or intellectual quality in the curl of the hair, or the colour of the skin. I cannot conceive why a black man may not as reasonably object to my colour, as I to his. Sir, it is not a black face that I detest, but a black heart—and I find it very often under a white skin.'

'Well, sir,' said my querist, 'how would you like to see a black man President of the United States?'

'As to that, sir, I am a true republican, and bow to the will of the majority. If the people prefer a black President, I shall cheerfully submit; and if he be qualified for the station, may peradventure give him my vote.'

'How should you like to have a black man marry your daughter?'

'I am not married—I have no daughter. Sir, I am not familiar with your practices; but allow me to say, that slave-holders generally should be the last persons to affect fastidiousness on that

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

point; for they seem to be enamoured with *amalgamation*.

Thus ended the dialogue. Here you have the notions of a Maryland slave-holder.

A "gentleman," from one of the southern states, beat a black man, in New York, lately, for standing on the side walk while he was passing. The coloured man remonstrated, and the "gentleman" drew a pistol upon him, and threatened to blow his brains out. Some of the un-gentlemanly people of New York conveyed the "gentleman" to the police office, and the magistrate ordered him into a room, for a few weeks, WHERE ALL ARE OF ONE COLOR.—*U. S. Gaz.*

[Does the editor of the Gazette mean to convey the idea that all, there, are *free-ly* equal?—*Ed. G. U. E.*]

The revolution of France, which deprived Charles X. of his throne, was celebrated at Port au Prince, Hayti, by a large number of Haytiens and French. We translate from an account of the celebration, the following toast, by the Abbe *Acheverria*, vicar of Port au Prince.

"To the Patriarch of Liberty, the Aristides of the revolution, the citizen of two worlds, Gen Lafayette, who, at the head of the National Guards of Paris, has twice shown to kings, that it is in vain they invoke the protection of *Heaven* by public prayers, if they keep not upon *earth* the engagements they have contracted with the people."

The French Chamber of Peers have, by a large majority, passed the Slave Trade Abolition bill.

BLACK LIST.

A law has been passed by the council of Savannah, laying a fine of one hundred dollars on every free coloured person visiting the place.

A negro girl had the small-pox in Nashville, and she was put up in the third story of an old steam-mill near town, and was recovering. The building has been destroyed by fire, and the negro girl with it. It is supposed to be the work of design!

HUMANITY!—The following advertisement is copied from a Kentucky paper. It shows in what light one portion of the human species are regarded by another:

"**NEGROES FOR SALE.**—Four likely negroes—a Woman and three Children—are offered for sale at Maj. Moore's Lafayette Inn.—They will be sold altogether, or separately, except the woman and her youngest child, *who cannot be separated*. Those wishing to see them will please call.

"Lexington, Nov. 25, 1830."

From the Pensacola Chronicle, Nov. 30, 1830.

On Thursday night last, a negro woman, the property of Dr. Lawson of the U. S. Army, came to her death by a pistol ball, discharged from the hands of Lt. Wm. H. Baker of the U. S. Army. He has been recognized by the *Martins* in the sum of one thousand dollars, for

his appearance at the next term of the Superior Court.

A large portion of the citizens are loud in their declamations against the proceedings in the case of the individual charged, they complain of partiality in administering the laws.

Where offences of a more trivial character have taken place against the laws, in this city, the prisoners have been invariably committed to prison, and not unfrequently carried to a blacksmith's shop, and chains rivetted on them to secure their appearance before the proper tribunal. In the case alluded to, the prisoner has been permitted literally to go at large. Circumstances of this character call loudly for the interposition of the Executive.

From the N. Y. Working Man's Advocate.

WILMINGTON, [N. C.] Jan. 7.

"There has been much shooting of negroes in this neighbourhood recently, in consequence of symptoms of liberty having been discovered among them. These inhuman acts are kept profoundly secret—wherefore I know not. Two companies of troops have very lately been stationed here." [*U. S. United States' troops.*]

SLAVE TRADE.—A letter from Rio Janeiro, says—The Druid took a schooner close in Bahia with 58 slaves. They had nearly finished searching her, when an officer put his sword into the bung hole of one of the water tuns, and was answered by a cry within. The cask was broken open, and out crept three fine coast of Mina blacks. They immediately proceeded below, and found in the immense puncheons more slaves. Of course the *sch.* was immediately seized, and has come in company with the frigate.

The Captain has been much applauded by the slave dealers here for this new contrivance, which was effected in twelve hours that the frigate had chased her.

The above is copied from a late newspaper. The last paragraph shews the ignorance of some of our newsmongers. The "contrivance" is not a "new" one. It has been in operation a long time. But what can we expect from the intelligence of editors who scarcely ever fully examine, or even think upon, this subject?

A PREMIUM FOR RICE.

The sum of TEN DOLLARS will be given as a premium, over and above the market price, for Five Casks of Fresh Rice, of a good quality, raised by Free Labour, and delivered in Philadelphia, to CHARLES PEIRCE, before the 1st of June next. (1831.)

The gentleman, above named, is well known as a very respectable Grocer, in Philadelphia, who has for several years past, made it a particular business to keep articles in his line that are exclusively the production of free labour.

The premium, together with the market price, will be promptly paid, on the delivery of the Rice, accompanied by proper reference and vouchers from some respectable person who is known in Philadelphia.

The "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION" is published monthly, in Washington and Baltimore, at One Dollar per annum, always to be paid in advance.

Genius of Universal Emancipation.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY B. LUNDY, IN THE CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Dec. Ind. U. S.*

SUPPLEMENTARY TO VOL. XI.—APRIL, 1831.

It was stated, in the last regular number of this work, that two or more Supplements would be issued, to be attached to the volume which has just closed. But in consequence of having made some new arrangements for the publication, and being under the necessity of shortly taking a tour, for the purpose of collecting a portion of the arrearages due the establishment, I have determined to change the plan, so far as to print but one Supplement, and commence the new volume immediately in May. The Supplements were intended to be gratuitous, but yet to answer for each month, as they might appear. The present one is issued in the place of a regular April number, though it appears a little after the proper time.

I am rejoiced to perceive that my former patrons, generally, evince a disposition to hold on with me; and, also, that a considerable number of new subscribers have (unsolicited) sent in their names, for the next volume. I hope many more will follow their example, and that they will not omit the necessary promptitude in paying the little trifle demanded for the work. Although it now has a pretty extensive circulation, so many of the subscribers suffer their accounts to hang in arrear, great difficulty exists in continuing the publication.

A Title-Page and Index, for the eleventh volume, will shortly be printed, and forwarded to subscribers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Another *beginning* is made. The work of genuine "reform," in the District of Columbia, has recommenced. And it is to be hoped that it will now be persisted in to its consummation.

A meeting of the Washington Anti-Slavery Society was recently held, at which a committee was appointed to prepare a petition to Congress for the *Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia*. This meeting stands adjourned to the 13th of May, when the said petition will be presented for adoption. It will be immediately printed, and circulated in every part of the United States.

Our friends in other sections of the Union are requested to attend to this subject, and back our efforts to wipe from the national escutcheon this foul blot. We are well aware that the members of Congress will feel themselves under less obli-

gation to answer our prayers, than those of their *immediate constituents*; we therefore urge the voters in every State, to second our exertions. The national legislature will act upon the subject when it discovers that the *voice of the people* demands it. More on this subject hereafter.

LIBERATION OF 164 SLAVES.

The wrecking of the brig "Comet," on the island of Abaco, and the liberation of 164 slaves, shipped in that vessel, at Alexandria, D. C. for the New Orleans market, is confirmed. The particulars of the case are thus stated in a Charleston paper, of Feb. 30.

"The vessel suffered shipwreck on the night of the 2d ult. on Abaco. The crew and slaves were all saved, and carried into Nassau, N. P. where they were about to be re-shipped by the owner, or his agent, for the original port of destination, when permission, for this object, was refused by the officers of the Customs, at Nassau, and they have subsequently been seized by the Court of Vice Admiralty, for other disposition. The case is now under consideration by this court. How it will be determined, admits of considerable speculation. The slaves, agreeably to the laws of the United States, are of mixed character. In his relation to his owner, he is considered as property—to the laws, he is accountable as a human being. If the English laws at Nassau consider him in the former point of view they are subject to division among the wreckers, as in all other cases of property; but citizens of that place, we believe, are not permitted to hold this kind of property from its supposed incompatibility with what is termed the freedom of the English Institutions; although this practice in the West India Islands, commonly, is under the express sanction of that government. Considered as human beings, they are there enlarged and free, and the wreckers, and original owners, alike, are refused all claim upon them, in any point of view. In the mean time, many of the slaves have been suffered to escape; and without question, this has been winked at by those in authority."

By later accounts from Nassau, we learn that the decision of the Vice Admiralty Court was published, and **ALL THE SLAVES WERE SET AT LIBERTY**. It is said that about one hundred of them were purchased and shipped by the notorious slave-dealers, Franklin & Armfield, of Alexandria; and it is added, that they had taken the precaution to get the value they set upon them insured. I have not yet learned at what Insurance Office this was done.

The foregoing decision is important; and it is

to be hoped that it may throw another obstacle in the way of prosecuting the *infernal* traffic in human flesh along our coast, which is now carried on nearly to as great an extent as that on the coast of Africa!!

PENNSYLVANIA FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

A meeting of this association was held in Philadelphia, on the 12th instant. It was large, and the proceedings were interesting. A Report then submitted relative to sales of free produce, in that city, states that *one* of the grocers (Charles Pierce) has sold, within the last eighteen months, goods of this description, to the amount of *five thousand three hundred and seventy dollars*. There are several other stores, in Philadelphia, Wilmington, Del. and New York, which are exclusively confined to such goods.

The *Dry Goods* store kept by Lydia White, in North Fifth Street, Philadelphia, should be more generally known. She has a handsome variety of calicoes, &c.

From this view of the subject, connected with the fact that the disposition to promote this concern is *fast gaining ground*, may we not hope that a few of the southern growers of sugar, rice, and cotton, will be induced to experiment upon the plan of free labor? This is the grand object which the above-named Society has in view, and it is to be hoped that eventual success will crown its noble and philanthropic efforts.

A large meeting of the Coloured Men's Free Produce Association, was also held on the 18th inst. The business transacted, evinced that they took a lively interest in the good cause.

Next month, a more detailed statement will be given of the proceedings of these Associations.

THE FLORIDA PAMPHLET.

To the kindness of the editor of the "*Herald of Truth*," I am indebted for a copy of this famous production. It is a curiosity. The writer appears to possess a large share of the "*milk of human kindness*," yet it is imbued with the spirit of despotism! He is evidently a sort of hermaphrodite philanthropist, with, perhaps, good intentions, but strong prejudices, and little philosophy.

I have not room to do him justice now; but next month his bantling shall have further attention. It exhibits tolerably gay attire, but the "*Daw*" shall be "*stripped of his borrowed plumes*."

HAYTI.

Another silly report of insurrection in Hayti, the desolation of the island, in consequence of the *unprofitableness of free labour* in the West In-

dies, &c. has been coined at the Jamaica counterfeit mint, and circulated with avidity by our prejudiced and credulous editors. It is astonishing that intelligent conductors of newspapers will persist in palming such stuff upon their readers, when they have sufficient reason to believe that there is no truth in it. It is scandalous.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

In the number of this work, for March, I inserted the proceedings of a meeting of coloured people in Baltimore, convened for the purpose of expressing their views of *African Colonization*. Below, I give the resolutions, &c. adopted at a recent meeting, for a similar purpose, in Washington.

At the present time, I shall say nothing as to the propriety or the impropriety of these proceedings. It is enough that the coloured people wish to express their sentiments, upon a subject so interesting to themselves. The time was, when they could not speak through the Press; but *that time is past*.

I am again reluctantly compelled to omit a notice of the proceedings of the coloured people in several of the free States, relative to this subject. Next month I shall endeavour to give the reader a specimen of *their arguments*, from their own addresses, and a full view of the ground they take in opposing the *doctrines* advanced by some of the members of the Colonization Society.

MEETING OF COLORED PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

Pursuant to previous notice, a large and respectable meeting of the coloured citizens of Washington, D. C. convened at the African Methodist Episcopal Church, on Wednesday evening, April 27th, 1831, for the purpose of expressing their views upon the subject of *African Colonization*.

Mr. John W. Prout was called to the chair, and Arthur Waring appointed Secretary.

The chairman briefly explained the object of the meeting, in a short speech, well adapted to the occasion, which was followed by several neat and very appropriate addresses, delivered by sundry gentlemen present.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered and adopted nearly unanimously.

Whereas, we consider that the period has arrived for the coloured citizens of this place to express their opinion upon the subject of *Colonization* in Liberia, a subject of great importance to themselves as well as to the coloured citizens of these U. States generally:—and whereas our brethren at a distance are desirous of obtaining our opinion relative to the object and the policy pursued by the American Colonization Society—Therefore be it

Resolved, That this meeting views with distrust the efforts made by the Colonization Society, to cause the free people of colour of the U. S.

to emigrate to Liberia, on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere.

Resolved, That it is the declared opinion of the members of this meeting, that the soil which gave them birth, is their only *true and veritable home*—and that it would be impolitic, unwise and improper for them to leave their home without the benefits of education.

Resolved, That this meeting conceive that among the advocates of the colonization system they have many true and sincere friends, and do regret that their actions, although prompted no doubt by the purest motives, do not meet their approbation.

Resolved, That we believe the *Press* to be the most efficient means of disseminating light and knowledge among our brethren;—and that this meeting do acknowledge, with gratitude, the efforts made in our behalf by the editors of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and *The Liberator*—and do most earnestly recommend their respective papers to our brethren generally, for their approval and support.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published.

JOHN W. PROUT, *Chairman*.

Arthur Waring, *Secretary*.

“THE LIBERATOR.”

The great “offender” against the “dignity and peace” of Slavites, W. L. Garrison, has lately added a new wreath to his brow. He has mounted a dashing vignette on the front of his “*Liberator*,” representing a *Slave Auction*, almost to the very life! A group of human beings appear, of various colours—some large and some small—some serious and some sorrowful. A fellow stands on a platform, with a mallet in his hand, in the attitude of an auctioneer. A sign-board is elevated above the rest of the scenery, denoting a “Horse Market.” But on the front of the Auction Stand, these words are chalked: “Slaves, horses, and other cattle, to be sold at 12 o’clock!” On the left is to be seen the Capitol of the United States, and a *whipping-post* beside it, with a poor wretch drawn up to it, and an executioner plying the cruel lash. The *United States flag*, from the centre dome of the Capitol, overshadows this part of the picture, *shielding therefrom the scorching rays of heaven*, which else would consume it with the fire of wrathful indignation! Below, is a representation of the rejection or violation of *Indian Treaties*, further showing our *justice* towards the coloured race.

The whole tout ensemble is but too faithful a delineation of the actual state of things. The principal fault is, the *whipping machine* is in the wrong place. That ornament of a civilized nation, the proudest monument of legal justice, erected by human hands, in the District of Columbia, has recently been removed to the door of the Washington Jail. There are sundry marks, also, around this standing emblem of mercy—pret-

ty DEEP NICHES, in fact—that should not have been forgotten; as they must have saved a portion of the torture designed for many a wretched sufferer.

Upon the whole, the *Liberator* increases in interest as it increases in age. The advocates of slavery should *borrow it*, whenever they can;—and those who would like to know more about the system than they now do, and would be willing to patronize a zealous, worthy advocate of emancipation, should *subscribe* for it.

MULTUM IN PARVO.

One of the most complete recommendations of this work, that I have ever met with, appeared, as follows, in the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, (conducted by Robert Morris,) of the 11th ult. The editor has my thanks for his friendly notice. His good opinion is *worth having*. The “*Inquirer*” and “*Philadelphia Album*,” both of which are under his direction, sustain a high rank among the periodicals of the day. I regret that he entertains a very unfavourable opinion of the public course of our friend, Garrison. That, however, is their own business.

“The *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published simultaneously at Baltimore and at Washington, by Benjamin Lundy, has completed its eleventh volume. The editor promises that the work will be continued, and the objects of it prosecuted with unabated vigour. Those who have the cause of emancipation at heart, cannot aid it better than by extending their patronage to this journal. Its editor is zealous in the cause, but his enthusiasm is tempered with a discretion that might be happily imitated by some of his co-labourers.”

MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

A pamphlet has recently been published, by J. W. Allen, son of the late Bishop Allen, of Philadelphia, containing the Constitution of the “*American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for improving their condition in the United States, for the purchase of lands, and for the establishment of a settlement in Upper Canada*.” To this Constitution is appended the proceedings of a Convention of Coloured persons, held sometime since, in Philadelphia, and also an Address, from that body, to their coloured brethren in the United States.

We cannot but hail the enterprising exertions of these people with lively satisfaction; and believing that the readers of this work will take a deep interest therein, the proceedings of said Convention, together with the Address alluded to, are here inserted. Nothing will have so powerful a tendency to meliorate the unfortunate condition of the coloured race, in America, as

their own pacific, yet spirited, efforts to elevate themselves above their degradation. Every true philanthropist will encourage them therein.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

As much anxiety has prevailed on account of the enactment of laws in several states of the Union, especially that of Ohio, abridging the liberties and privileges of the Free People of Colour, and subjecting them to a series of privations and sufferings, by denying them a right of residence, unless they comply with certain requisitions not exacted of the Whites, a course altogether incompatible with the principles of civil and religious liberty.

In consideration of which, a delegation was appointed from the states of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, to meet in Convention in Philadelphia, to consider the propriety of forming a settlement in the province of Upper Canada, in order to afford a place of refuge to those who may be obliged to leave their homes, as well as to others inclined to emigrate with the view of improving their condition.

The said Convention accordingly met in Bethel Church, city of Philadelphia, on the 20th of September, 1830; and having fully considered the peculiar situation of many of their brethren, and the advantages to be derived from the proposed settlement, adopted the following

ADDRESS

To the Free People of Color of these United States.

Brethren,

Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being taught by that inestimable and invaluable instrument, namely, the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently are endowed with unalienable rights, among which are the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.

Viewing these as incontrovertible facts, we have been led to the following conclusions: that our forlorn and deplorable situation earnestly and loudly demand of us to devise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men.

And in pursuit of this great object, various ways and means have been resorted to; among others, the African Colonization Society is the most prominent. Not doubting the sincerity of many friends who are engaged in that cause; yet we beg leave to say, that it does not meet with our approbation. However great the debt which these United States may owe to injured Africa, and however unjustly her sons have been made to bleed, and her daughters to drink of the cup of affliction, still we, who have been born and nurtured on this soil, we, whose habits, manners, and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that Society to that much afflicted country.

Tell it not to barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilised, and eject our christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the states of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren, to leave their homes and seek an asylum in foreign climes: and in taking a view of the unhappy situation of many of these, whom

the oppressive laws alluded to continually crowd into the Atlantic cities, dependent for their support upon their daily labour, and who often suffer for want of employment, we have had to lament that no means have yet been devised for their relief.

These considerations have led us to the conclusion, that the formation of a settlement in the British province of Upper Canada, would be a great advantage to the people of color. In accordance with these views, we pledge ourselves to aid each other by all honourable means, to plant and support one in that country; and therefore we earnestly and most feelingly appeal to our coloured brethren, and to all philanthropists, here and elsewhere, to assist in this benevolent and important work.

To encourage our brethren earnestly to co-operate with us, we offer the following, viz. 1st. Under that government no invidious distinction of colour is recognised, but there we shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens. 2d. That the language, climate, soil, and productions are similar to those in this country. 3d. That land of the best quality can be purchased at the moderate price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre, by the one hundred acres. 4th. The market for different kinds of produce raised in that colony, is such as to render a suitable reward to the industrious farmer, equal in our opinion to that of the United States. And lastly, as the erection of buildings must necessarily claim the attention of the emigrants, we would invite the mechanics from our large cities to embark in the enterprise; the advancement of architecture depending much on their exertions, as they must consequently take with them the arts and improvements of our well-regulated communities.

It will be much to the advantage of those who have large families, and desire to see them happy and respected, to locate themselves in a land where the laws and prejudices of society will have no effect in retarding their advancement to the summit of civil and religious improvement. There the diligent student will have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance; whilst those of moderate attainments, if properly nurtured, may be enabled to take their stand as men in the several offices and situations necessary to promote union, peace, order and tranquility. It is to these we must look for the strength and spirit of our future prosperity.

Before we close, we would just remark, that it has been a subject of deep regret to this convention, that we as a people, have not availingly appreciated every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen. That our mental and physical qualities have not been more actively engaged in pursuits more lasting, is attributable in a great measure to a want of unity among ourselves; whilst our only stimulus to action has been to become domestics, which at best is but a precarious and degraded situation.

It is to obviate these evils, that we have recommended our views to our fellow-citizens in the foregoing instrument, with a desire of raising the moral and political standing of ourselves; and we cannot devise any plan more likely to accomplish this end, than by encouraging agriculture and mechanical arts: for by the first, we shall be enabled to act with a degree of independence,

which as yet has fallen to the lot of but few among us; and the faithful pursuit of the latter, in connexion with the sciences, which expand and ennoble the mind, will eventually give us the standing and condition we desire.

To effect these great objects, we would earnestly request our brethren throughout the United States, to co-operate with us, by forming societies auxiliary to the Parent Institution, about being established in the city of Philadelphia, under the patronage of the GENERAL CONVENTION. And we further recommend to our friends and brethren, who reside in places where, *at present*, this may be impracticable, so far to aid us, by contributing to the funds of the Parent Institution; and, if disposed, to appoint one delegate to represent them in the next Convention, to be held in Philadelphia the first Monday in June next, it being fully understood, that organized societies be at liberty to send any number of delegates not exceeding five.

Signed by order of the Convention,

Rev. RICHARD ALLEN, *President*,
Senior Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Churches.

Junius C. Morel, *Secretary*.

THE AFRICAN SENTINEL.

Two numbers of this work have made their appearance. The editor (John G. Stewart) exhibits much tact and talent in his essays and selections. The friends of the African race should use every exertion to patronize him. Let it not be said that a *third* attempt to establish a periodical work, by the coloured people, in this country, shall fail. To the influential of that class, in particular, the appeal should go forth in a tone of thunder. Rouse ye! and shew to your traducers, beyond the power of contradiction, that the African bosom yet glows with the generous emulation that erst nourished the arts and sciences to maturity in Ethiopia and Egypt, while Asia made less pretensions to knowledge and moral grandeur; Europe was involved in barbarism; and America was unknown to the civilized world.

I shall give copious extracts from this work hereafter;—and it will afford me great pleasure to receive subscriptions for it, with the view of assisting the proprietor in his praiseworthy career. It is neatly printed, in quarto form, and issued monthly, at Albany, N. Y.—Price \$1.50 per ann.

FUNERAL OF BISHOP ALLEN.

The immense concourse of coloured people, who attended the funeral of this pious patriarch, exceeded perhaps any thing of the kind ever witnessed in this country. No other African corpse, it is presumed, was ever attended to the place of interment, in America, by as great a number, or more sincere mourners. The deceased was most extensively known for his many virtues; and the veneration of his brethren was scarcely limited. The following obituary notice, is from the pen of the editor of the "African Sentinel."

I prefer inserting it to any further remarks of my own.

OBITUARY.

When a good man dies his country sustains a loss; but when not only a good but a great man has been summoned by the Angel of death to bid farewell to existence, humanity throughout the world becomes a mourner. In the death of RICHARD ALLEN, the first Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, religion has lost one of her brightest, most talented, and distinguished ornaments; philanthropy one of her firmest and most practical advocates and supporters; and the great cause of African Emancipation one of the purest friends and patriots that ever exerted his energies in favour of civil and religious liberty. When the humble African was even dragged from the altar of his God by the inhuman whites who disgrace the land, rendered sacred by the glowing recollections which arise at the mention of the name of William Penn, Richard Allen stepped forth as their defender and protector, built at his own expense and upon his own ground, the first African Church in America. He it was that through persecution, through malice and through envy, walked like the Saviour upon the troubled waters, in favour of African Religious Independence—it was he, who *"rose up early in the morning and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it; and he called the name of that place BETHEL."* The tears of the virtuous will moisten the flowers that the hand of friendship will strew upon his grave—Angels will smile upon him in the blessed regions of immortality, and his noble deeds will remain, cherished in the memory of mankind imperishable monuments of eternal glory.

* The name of the Church which he erected in Philadelphia.

ANOTHER GONE!

It is stated in the "Liberator," that the Rev. THOMAS PAUL, for many years Pastor of the African Baptist Church in Boston, died on the 18th inst. of a consumption. It is said of him, with truth, that:

"In manners, he was dignified, urbane and attractive;—his colloquial powers were exuberant and vigorous;—his intellect was assiduously cultivated, and produced the choicest fruits;—his influence was as beneficial as extensive. His fame, as a preacher, is exceedingly prevalent:—for his eloquence charmed the ear, and his piety commended itself to his hearers."

KENTUCKY.

The late proposition to form an Anti-Slavery Society, among the *Slave-Holders* of Kentucky, will certainly be adopted. The following is from the Western Luminary, of a recent date.

GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

To facilitate the object of a Proposition, which we have published a few weeks, the author of that has furnished us the following form of a Subscription Paper, which may easily be copied by any of the friends of the cause, and subscribers solicited. With a little exertion we are sure the requisite number for calling a meeting

can be obtained in a short time. The sooner it is done, the better.

Gradual and Safe Emancipation.

We, the undersigned, Slaveholders, under a full conviction that there are insurmountable obstacles to the general emancipation of the present generation of slaves, but equally convinced of the necessity and practicability of emancipating their future offspring, have determined to form ourselves into a society, for the purpose of investigating and impressing these truths upon the public mind, as well by example as by precept; by adopting among ourselves such a system for the gradual emancipation of our slaves as we would recommend to our fellow citizens for their adoption, as the law of the land; and by dispersing such writings as may be likely to contribute to so good an end. The Society will not be called together until fifty subscribers are obtained.

The following gentlemen have already signified their wish to become members of the proposed Emancipation Society. It is hoped that it will not be long before the list will be increased to 50, so that a meeting may be called.

William R. Hines, Bardstown.
Samuel K. Snead, Jefferson county.
J. M. C. Irvin, Fayette county.
R. J. Breckenrige, "
A. J. Alexander, Woodford county.
Charles Alexander, "
J. R. Alexander, "
James McCall, Rockcastle county.
John Wallace, Fayette county.
Norman Porter, Lexington.
Thomas T. Skillman, "
George Clarke, Fayette county.
James Blythe, Lexington.
George W. Anderson, Fayette county.
James G. McKinney, Lexington.
James H. Allen, Fayette county.
James McDowell, "

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following touching effusion, though not original, may be interesting to the advocates of emancipation. If approved by the editor, I would like to see it copied into the Genius.

A FRIEND TO THE CAUSE.

THE POOR NEGRO.

On Afric's wide plains where the lion now roaring,
With freedom stalks forth, the vast desert exploring,
I was drag'd from my hut, and enchained as a slave,
In a dark floating dungeon, upon the salt wave.
Spare a half penny, spare a half penny,
O spare a half penny, to a poor negro.

Toss'd on the wide main, I all wildly despairing,
Burst my chains, rush'd on deck, with mine eye balls
wide glaring,
When the light'nings dread blast, struck the inlets of day,
And their glorious bright beams shut for ever away.
Spare a half penny, &c.

The despoiler of man, his prospect thus losing,
Of gain by my sale, not a blind bargain choosing,
As my value compar'd with my keeping was light,
Had me dash'd overboard, in the dead of the night.
Spare a half penny, &c.

And but for a lark, to Britannia's coast bound then,
All my cares by that plunge, in the deep, had been drown'd
then,
But by moonlight deseri'd, I was snatch'd from the wave,
And reluctantly rob'd, of a watery grave!
Spare a half penny, &c.

How disastrous my fate, freedom's ground though I tread
now,
Torn from Home, Wife, and Children, and wand'ring for
bread now,
While seas roll between us, which ne'er can be cross'd,
And Hope's distant glim'ring, in darkness are lost.
Spare a half penny, &c.

But of minds, foul and fair, when the JUDGE and the
Ponderer!
Shall restore *Light and Rest*, to the blind, and the wan-
derer,
The Europeans deep dye, may out-rival the *sloe*,
And the soul of an *Ethiop*, prove white as the *Snow*.
Spare a half penny, spare a half penny,
Oh! spare one half penny, to a poor Negro.

LADIES' REPOSITORY.
Philanthropy and Literature.

PRINCIPALLY CONDUCTED BY A LADY.

TRUTHS.

There are moments when our mind almost refuses to yield its belief to the reality of the system of American Slavery. Its iniquity seems too daring, its shame too broad, to admit of credibility. It seems too enormously impious to be tolerated, except among the rudest savages; and when we reflect where, and among whom it is permitted to exist, and what spot of earth is polluted by its vileness, it is not wonderful that we should again and again, like the illustrious Clarkson, ask ourselves the question—"Can this be true?" Alas! like him, we receive the same bitter affirmative echoed back from the recesses of our bosom—"It is true!" Aye, it is true, that in free, polished, Christian America, two millions of human beings are languishing out a life of abject slavery! true that human sinews are pronounced by her laws to be merchantable commodities—that a portion of her citizens derive their wealth from the sale of their countrymen—that regular markets for human flesh are established in various places—that the strongest laws of humanity, and the holiest ties of blood and affection, are as lightly broken, "as flax is sunder'd at the touch of flame"—true that American women are beaten with the horsewhip, ranked as cattle, and driven with their brethren in herds about the country to be sold! Yet the people of the United States make a profession of Christianity—profess to regulate their actions by the pure standard of the precepts of the blessed Gospel! They assume the character of a brave, polished and enlightened nation—brave! a nation which suffers her sons to tyrannize over women and children!—polished and enlightened!—when thousands of her children are bound down by her laws in a state of the most debasing ignorance! It matters not that this state of things is confined to only a portion of the community—or rather, it casts a still deeper shade of shame over those who could, and will not, ef-

face this stigma from the name of their fair country. But, should our country women sigh over the dark picture we have drawn them of a land they love, let them not deem that they are innocent of perpetuating that darkness. No, collectively and individually, they are in their full portion answerable for the guilt of its continuance. Had they interposed their prayers in behalf of the defenceless sufferers, had they been conscientiously earnest in impressing the minds of all those over whom nature or affection had given them any influence, with a conviction of the true nature of slavery, had they steadily refused to partake in its iniquity, our country would ere now have been redeemed from its pollution. But it is not yet too late to arouse themselves—they have hitherto been blindly swayed from the path of right principle, but they have it still in their power to withdraw their hand from committing evil for the future, though they cannot remedy the past. They have yet the power to prove, that though they might for a time thoughtlessly persist in error, they cannot, and will not, when they have reflected on its enormity, continue to support a system which derives its nourishment from the life blood of human hearts.

The consumption of slave produce is the very root of the system of slavery; while that is firmly seated in the earth and continually nourished by fertilizing dews, it will be difficult to destroy the vitality of the branches. It is this which has drank up such rivers of tears, and torrents of human blood—and when that is destroyed, the whole bulk of this pestilential evil must inevitably perish.

PHILADELPHIA FREE COTTON SOCIETY.

To the politeness of the Secretary of this Association, we are indebted for several Reports, for the months of January, March, and April, of the present year, presenting accounts of their proceedings. As these Reports possess considerable interest, we have thought best to defer their insertion until next month, when a new volume of this work will commence, and a large number of new subscribers will have the benefit of the information contained in them.

The last meeting of the Society, which was held on the 15th inst. we learn was well attended, and an increasing desire was manifested, by the members, to aid in promoting the good cause.

A very encouraging letter was lately received by the Secretary, from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society at Birmingham, England, and read at this meeting. Much good will, no doubt, result

from a regular correspondence between the various societies in the two countries; and we hope to have the pleasure of laying a part thereof, at least, from time to time, before our readers.

We have been favoured with a copy of the proceedings of the Coloured Female Free Produce Society, of Philadelphia, which we design for insertion in our next paper.

LITERARY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

REMINISCENCE.

Away and away to Memory's land!
To seize the past with a daring hand,
And bear it back from oblivion's bowers,
To brighten again this dull world of ours.

There's many a walk beneath summer skies,
Starry and blue as some earthly eyes;
There's many an eve by the winter's hearth
Sparkling all over with friendship and mirth.

There's many a ramble through wood and glen,
Away from the sight and the haunts of men;
There's climbing of rocks, and gathering flowers,
And watching the stream through summer showers.

There's many an hour that quickly went,
In the boughs of the old hill grape-vine spent;
There's many a ride, and many a walk,
And many a theme of friendly talk.

How freshly comes to the spirit back,
The merry light of its early track!
But let it pass far around my brow
For deeper thoughts are gathering now.

I have learned too much of woe and wrong,
Of hearts all crushed by oppression strong,
To deem the earth, as in other days,
A fairy theme for a poet's lays.

How may I linger within the bowers,
Bedight with memory's fairy flowers,
While woman's cry, as she drains the cup
Of her bitter lot, to the sky goes up?

How may I joy in my better fate,
While her heart is bleeding and desolate?
Or give my thoughts to their blissful dreams,
While no bright ray on her darkness gleams?

GERTRUDE.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

NEGRO FRIENDSHIP.

The friendships of the African race, are said to be peculiarly strong, and their characters highly susceptible of enthusiastic and ardent attachment. Numerous instances have occurred, in which they have sacrificed their own lives, to preserve those to whom they were united by a strong tie of gratitude or affection. When, as it frequently happens, they are compelled by the will or the poverty of their masters to quit their homes and the companions of their youthful days, and having been disposed of to some new purchaser, are transferred to "another service and another scene," they not unfrequently droop and pine away to death beneath the agony of their feelings, heart-broken with their unendurable grief. "It is inconceivable," says Lang, in his history of Jamaica, "what numbers have perished in consequence of the law for the recovery of debts, which permits slaves to be levied on and sold at *vendue*." Poor fellows! the exercise of the heart's kindly affections is all of bliss that is left to them on earth, and when that, too, is rudely snatched away from them, they can no longer endure the coldness and desolation of life; They sink to the grave unwep and forgotten.

and their fate awakens scarcely a transient sigh of sympathy. Instances of faithful attachment, which, in their more fortunate brethren, would be held up to the admiration of the world, in the slave are passed by as unworthy of notice. Yet who that has partaken of the sweets of friendship, and knoweth the blessings of a free communion of warm and congenial feelings, will not give a sigh of compassion to him, whose happiness has—so unlike their own—no better security than the caprices of another's will! and will not those who, like him, have "mingled hearts, and then been parted," lend their aid to secure him a destiny less capricious? Think of his sufferings and his fate, ye whose glances of joy are reflected back from the circling eyes of your many friends, as if they were the mirrors of your heart's emotions!—think—and when your souls are met in social communion, then pray them to assist you in alleviating the sorrows of the slave.

BERTHA.

SELECTIONS.

From the New England Christian Herald.

[EXTRACTED.]

Our readers will recognise in the following lines, which are full of strength and beauty, the lofty genius of the indefatigable philanthropist, and friend of suffering humanity, WILLIAM L. GARRISON. He has of late delivered a number of addresses in this city on Slavery, and has been admired for the clearness of his conceptions, the forcibleness of his reasoning, and the pungency of his arguments. May Heaven smile upon him, and bless him in his labours of mercy.—Ed.

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Though distant be the hour, yet come it must—
Oh! hasten it, in mercy, righteous Heaven!
When Afric's sons, uprising from the dust,
Shall stand erect—their galling fetters riven;
When from his throne oppression shall be driven,
An exiled monster, powerless through all time;
When freedom—glorious freedom, shall be given
To every race, complexion, caste, and clime,
And nature's sable hue, shall cease to be a crime!

And ye—sad victims of base avarice!
Hunted like beasts—and trodden like the earth;
Bought and sold daily, at a paltry price—
The scorn of tyrants, and of fools the mirth—
Your souls debased from their immortal birth!
Bear meekly—as ye've borne—your cruel woe;
Ease follows pain—light, darkness—plenty, dearth:
So time shall give you freedom and repose,
And high exalt your heads above your bitter foes!

Not by the sword shall your deliverance be;
Not by the shedding of your masters' blood;
Not by rebellion—or foul treachery,
Upspringing suddenly, like swelling flood;
Revenge and rapine ne'er did bring forth good.
God's time is best—nor will it long delay:
Even now your barren cause begins to bud,
And glorious shall the fruit be!—Watch and pray,
For, lo! the kindling dawn, that ushers in the day!

W. L. G.

From the Liberator.

SONNET.

O Persecution! fearful as thou art,—
With scowling brow, and aspect stern and rude,
Thy hands in blood of innocence imbued,
Wrung, drop by drop, from many a tortur'd heart,—
Why should we dread thy gibbet, axe or stake?
Thou dost our faith, our hope, our courage try—
Thou mak'st us valiant where we thought to fly:
Who shuns thee, never shall the crown of victory take.
Thy fires but purify our gold from dross;
Once undiscern'd, our value now appears,
Which shall at interest increase with years;
So we do gain by thee, nor suffer loss!
Twere base to sacrifice the truth, to save
Our names from foul reproach—our bodies from the grave.

G—A.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—We learn from late English papers that the British squadron on the Coast of Africa have been eminently successful in detecting this horrible traffic. On the southern coast of the Bay of Loango, the Spaniards, Portuguese and Brazilians had destroyed their forts and deserted their slaving establishments. Some time previous to the visit of the Primrose to that quarter, the king of Loango had brought 100 slaves to the coast for sale, but finding no slavers on the station, *butchered them all in cold blood, as he thought it too expensive to feed them!!! The bleached bones of the unfortunate victims were still to be seen on the shore.*

H. B. M. sloop Primrose arrived at Portsmouth, on the last of January. She brought in 24 men, (including the mate) being part of the crew of the Velos Passagero, captured by her, Sept. 7, who are to be tried for piracy, whose capture has been heretofore mentioned. The rest of the crew had been left at Ascension and AnaBona. Her captain, whose arm had been amputated, was left at Ascension. She carried 26 guns, and had a crew double that of the Primrose. She had 555 slaves. Others of the squadron had captured the Spanish schr. Santiago de Cuba, with 165 slaves; a Portuguese slaver with 35; another off Tomba, by boats; and the Spanish brig Favorito, the slaves from which were liberated at Sierra Leone, and the vessel released. His majesty's ship Talbot, on the 2d of October, captured the French brig Duc de Bordeaux 250 tons, 6 guns, and 55 men. She was bound to Guadaloupe, and had five hundred and sixty-one slaves, men, women and children, huddled together in a state of nudity. The depth of his slave deck was exactly three feet. The brig was in fine order, all the slaves and the deck clean. The charge of one gun, a 24-pounder, was round, canister and grape, and was loaded nearly to the muzzle. By the treaty with France she was liberated.

The Talbot heard of five piratical vessels.—They had all been at Port Praya, and had entered and cleared without molestation. One in particular, the Estrella brig, from Cuba, of 190 tons, and 53 men, and 8 guns, committed many depredations, and disposed of her booty at Port Praya; she was seen off the island for two days under topsails, supposed to be waiting for the Louisa, Mackay, from London. This vessel is pierced for 20 guns. The others are the Primeira Galega schooner, 90 tons, 40 men, and 3 guns; Restauradora, 160 tons, 30 men, and 3 guns; La Priemira, 97 tons, 27 men, and 1 24-pounder; and Urania, 182 tons, 71 men, and 5 guns, all from Havana. The Urania belongs to Havana, but reported from Cadiz, where she couched for a royal passport. They all reported themselves as slave ships, bound for the Coast of Africa, and cleared out at St. Jago, between May 12 and Sept. 6, all under Spanish colours.

Extract of a letter dated Havana, 17th March, 1831:—"The Planters in Cuba, as well as the other West India Islands, are in a ruinous condition, in consequence of the low price of Sugar and Coffee, the great staples of this valuable Island. In spite of John Bull's cruisers, nearly two thousand negroes were landed at various ports of this Island within the last forty days, and now command only \$250 a 300 a head payable in one, two, and four years. Several Guineamen are fitting out at St. Thomas, one of them mounts 18 guns and 75 men—a Baltimore clipper—all of course under Spanish colours."







